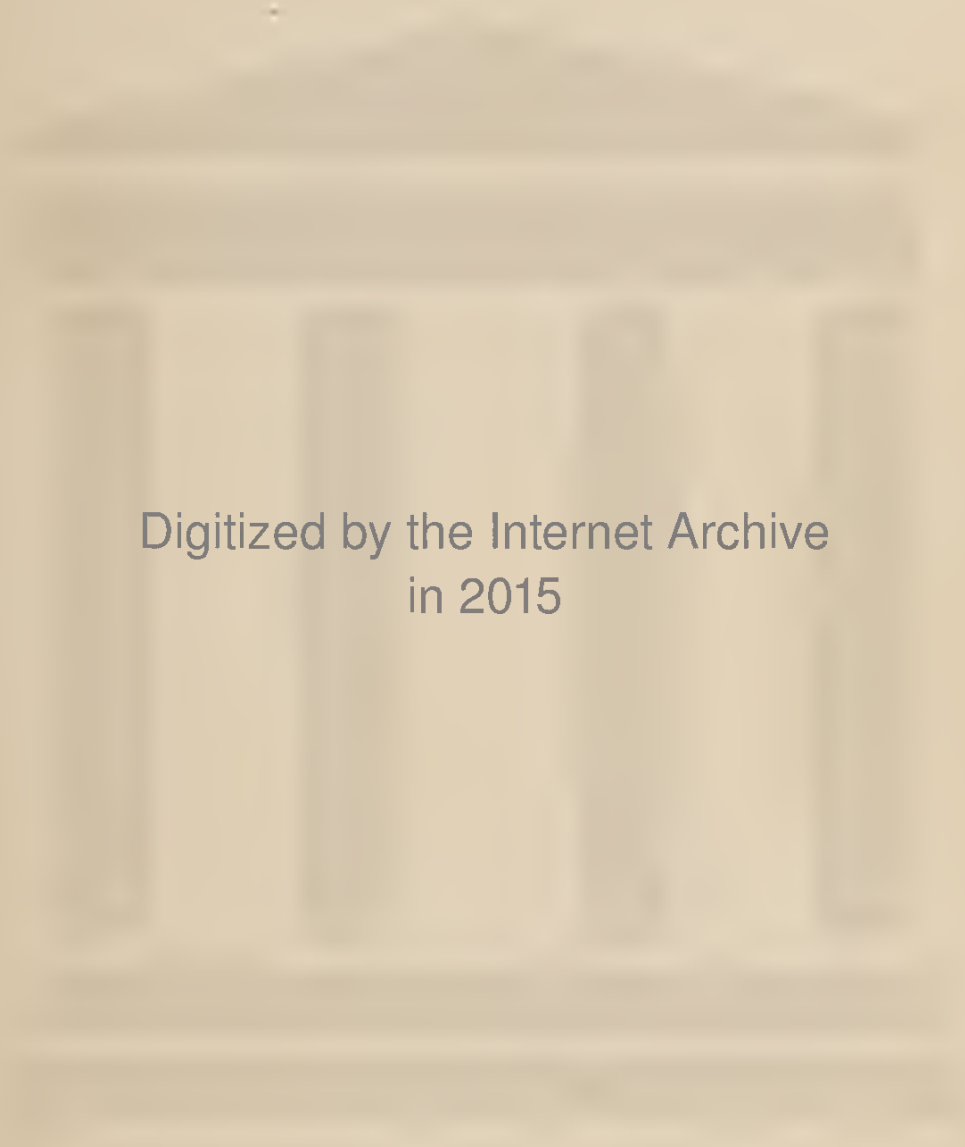

EDWARD MEYRICK GOULBURN, D.D.

E. Meyrick Goulburn

EDWARD MEYRICK GOULBURN

D.D., D.C.L.

DEAN OF NORWICH

A MEMOIR

BY

BERDMORE COMPTON

PREBENDARY OF ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL
AND FORMERLY FELLOW OF MERTON COLLEGE

LONDON
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET
1899

TO

JULIA GOULBURN

FROM B. C.

IN

AFFECTIONATE GRATITUDE

FOR THE

HONOURABLE TASK ENTRUSTED

TO HIM

PREFACE

THE subject of this Memoir once wrote to a friend contemplating a biography:

"I would bear in mind brevity throughout. People will not tolerate lengthy biographies. Give the readers the plums, and nothing else. John Burgon's *Lives of Twelve Good Men* marked a stage of public thought on the subject of biographies. Make it as short as you please."

A more lengthy biography might well be tolerated in the case of so stately a figure in the Anglo-Catholic Reformation of the nineteenth century. But let Dean Goulburn's Memoir be constructed on his own model. A book is of no use if it is not read. The plums must, indeed, be built

up into a cake of some kind. Let the cake contain the plums, with as little heavy dough of compiler's fabrication as will suffice to hold them together.

CHILDHOOD

"I was born," said Edward Meyrick Goulburn in a private memorandum, "into this world of sin and sorrow on the 11th of February, 1818, and soon after into the kingdom of God and the economy of divine grace, at the parish church of Chelsea."

His father was Edward Goulburn, successively in the navy, the army, and at the Bar. He rose to be a serjeant-at-law and a Commissioner in Bankruptcy.

He lived to see his son Dean of Norwich, dying some two years after the appointment.

He was a man of very considerable power and many attainments. One most amiable trait in his character was his unfeigned, most affectionate, admiration for his distinguished son. His brother, Henry, sometime Chancellor of the Exchequer, and long member for the University of Cambridge, was a very

different man. Seldom have there been two brothers less like one another; and the subject of this Memoir appeared to his friends to combine the best features of both characters: the humour and quickness of the serjeant with the quiet earnestness of the statesman.

The mother of Edward Meyrick Goulburn was Harriet de Visme, of an old Huguenot family. The Huguenot strain was not imperceptible in her son. Like Burgon, Golightly, and S. C. Malan, all connected with Huguenot families, he had something of a sentimental, as well as an academic, dislike of Romanism.

She died suddenly when he was five years old, leaving two sons and two daughters. Until the serjeant's second marriage, some four years afterwards, the four children lived with their maternal aunt, Mrs. John Louis Goldsmid.

In that home Edward Goulburn seems to have already shown a keen susceptibility of religious impression, and, indeed, something of the attraction to Holy Orders, which

grew with his growth, and finally took entire possession of his heart, "drawing all his cares and studies that way."

About four years later his father was again a widower; and the three surviving children of the first marriage, who had rejoined their father during the second marriage, were once more taken charge of by Mrs. Goldsmid, who now lived at Brighton.

Like most persons who have the love of children which he had, he retained all his life a singularly vivid recollection of his own childhood, recalling its incidents with accurate minuteness.

Edward Goulburn must then have been about twelve years old, and he and his only brother, Frederick, were shortly afterwards sent to Dr. Hooker's school at Rottingdean. The chief incident of this part of his training appears to have been the manifestation of a theatrical capacity, for he not only acted, but wrote, a play called *Hannibal, or the Fall of Carthage.* He once told a friend that as a young man he wrote another

tragedy, but never mentioned it to anyone, until one day long afterwards something led him to speak of it to his father, who, as he then found, had done the same thing himself, and written on the same theme. Very early in life he gave tokens of a retentive memory, the almost invariable characteristic of a mind destined for future eminence.

From Rottingdean School he and his brother were transferred to Eton, and were placed together in the school. In that little world he devoted himself rather to study than to amusement. He was very short-sighted, and therefore incapacitated from taking part in cricket and other games, now dignified with the name of athletics, and elevated to be all-important occupations of scholastic and academic life. He and his brother seem to have earned the uncomplimentary name of "Saps," as obviously setting in the first place of their efforts the learning of their lessons. They ambitioned, however, to be admitted to the old debating society, then, as now, known by the name of "Pop," but were rejected at the ballot

on the score of being "Saps." Walter, afterwards owner of the *Times*, met the same fate. The three boys were sore on the subject, and went to Dr. Keate, the famous Head Master, and asked leave to start another debating society. "Certainly not," growled out "the Head"; "I will have no schismatic Pops." It was exactly what Goulburn himself would have said as Head Master of Rugby in similar circumstances. The three "Saps" beat a precipitate retreat. But Dr. Keate quietly gave a hint to the "Anti-Sap" party in "Pop," and Dr. Keate's hints were of a somewhat practical kind; so the trio were shortly afterwards admitted to the object of their ambition.

He was a contributor to the *Eton College Magazine*, or the *Kaleidoscope*, then published by the boys. One very droll piece of poetry imagining Henry VI. walking about in the flesh, surveying Montem and other Eton doings, and then restored to his bronze and his pedestal in the school-yard, survives to this day in the memory of his contemporaries. His brother-in-law

and fellow-Etonian, H. Stapylton, and Mr. Stuart, of St. Mary Magdalene, Munster Square, relate of him that his voracity in reading gave rise to one of those strangely comic exaggerations which pass current in boy-life,—that he had read all authors that ever wrote, and was then obliged to fall back upon dictionaries and grammars to satisfy his thirst for knowledge!

His tutor was the well-known Edward Coleridge, and the kind of training he received from him, as well as the place he gained in his tutor's affection, is well illustrated by the following extract from a letter written to him nearly forty years afterwards, in which Edward Coleridge signs himself, "Ever, my dear old boy, your loving old Tutor":—

"The motto at Eton now, as throughout the whole land, is τὸ πολλὰ πράττειν; and I greatly fear that μηδὲν ἓν ποιεῖν will be very generally the result. Rowing, cricketing, and running are as highly esteemed and rewarded at our schools and universities

as mental excellence, and a smattering of many things is deemed as likely to produce success hereafter, as a foundation in a few essentials so solidly laid as to admit of a goodly superstructure."

OXFORD

In November, 1834, he was sent up to Oxford to compete for the Balliol scholarships, the great prize of all public schools. The immediate object was probably practice in examination, without much hope of success, or the intention of going to Oxford at all. He was, however, successful, for he had not been trained with "a smattering of many things," and the examiners could perceive that "a foundation in a few essentials had been solidly laid." In a letter to a cousin he announced this his first great success in life, full indeed of momentous consequences to himself and others. He says that he shall be obliged to go to Oxford instead of Cambridge, as had been intended, and proceeds, "The Balliol scholars (*i.e.*, those of them who are Eton men, and they most of them are) are

quite delighted at Eton having got it for the fifth time in succession. They are all throwing up their caps in the air, and playing frolics like children, and consequently I am receiving congratulations and invitations from every quarter." He did not enter on residence until the next year. Indeed, he must have left Eton earlier than was intended, for he never reached the sixth form. His colleague in the election was W. C. Lake, one of Dr. Arnold's favourite pupils.

Lake, afterwards Dean of Durham, survived his old friend for a few months only, and in a letter to the *Pall Mall Gazette* of 12th June, 1897, he gave the following interesting account of their life at Balliol.

"As I am almost the only remaining intimate companion of his career at Balliol, I may, perhaps, be allowed to describe some qualities which always formed a marked feature in his character, and made it as charming to his friends in early life, as it was afterwards admired and respected by all who knew him.

"The time when Goulburn and I were elected scholars of Balliol together, in November, 1834, was a period of rather marked interest in the scholarships of the college, of which there were at that time only two annually; for between 1831 and 1841 the majority of the scholars had an almost unbroken series of successes in their after-lives as well as at Oxford, numbering among them two Archbishops of Canterbury, two Lords Chief Justice, and two Cabinet Ministers (one being leader of the House of Commons), besides two eminent poets in Arthur Clough and Matthew Arnold, with the distinguished careers of Stanley, Goulburn, and the late Master of Balliol. It may be curious, too, to observe that the large majority of these were from the great public schools, Eton and Rugby having supplied twelve out of the twenty who were scholars in ten years. Of the scholars of my own time none was so well known to myself as Goulburn, who was the life of a small party comprising Stanley, Samuel Waldegrave (Bishop of Carlisle), Goulburn,

and myself, who generally met together in each other's rooms after dinner; and certainly I have known no intercourse in after-life on which I can look back with greater pleasure. Of the charm of Stanley's society I need not speak, but much the most amusing and witty of our party was Goulburn, who never lost an opportunity of describing any little event in college or lectures in an amusing brochure of verse or prose. I have still a copy or two of a series of 'Letters from Thomas Carlyle to A. P. Stanley, Scholar of Balliol,' written in the most correct Carlylese, 'on the State of Oxford in 1836,' and the descriptions of the grief of the Master on the theft of the communion money by his footman, beginning—

> 'By all the pangs which rent the Master's breast
> When Yellow-belly stood a thief confessed,'

or, again, of Waldegrave's schoolboy fights with 'Dubby' (Lord Buckinghamshire), ending—

> 'Ah, Samuel, Dubby then did batter thee,
> ἢ ὅτι καλὸν ἢ ἀισχρὸν τὸ μή.'

Many such are still fresh in my memory, though Waldegrave, who was rather too matter-of-fact, collected and made a bonfire of most of them, in the idea that they might make Goulburn unpopular. Meanwhile we all met once a week at a small debating society called the 'Decade,' which was founded by Benjamin Brodie and myself, where we discussed rather graver subjects than were common at the Union, of which, however, most of us were members, Scott-Moncrieff, Lord Coleridge, and myself, having been presidents.

"The small society of which I have spoken may have been open to the charge of being rather narrow and exclusive; perhaps it was so; but I am simply wishing to describe Goulburn's most intimate college friends, and certainly none was more so than Samuel Waldegrave and myself, though we all had some intimate friends from other colleges, such as one I deeply valued, Henry Burrows, from St. John's, while Golightly (or 'Golly') became later a warm theological ally of Goulburn and Waldegrave. We were all in

our ways theologians, Goulburn and Waldegrave being Evangelicals, and Stanley (in his earlier days) and myself, strong admirers of Newman. Goulburn's tendencies were always conservative, in theology as in other matters."

His piety was deepening as he entered into the trials of Oxford life. In some private memoranda, dated June 15th, 1835, he wrote for his own guidance, "Be not anxious, solicitous, miserable, about to-morrow; be not of a doubtful, divided mind. In all cases of difficulty perform diligently that part which appears wisest and best, and then resign the matter into the hand of God, patiently waiting the event before it comes, and humbly acquiescing in it, when it does come. Use your endeavours as if they were to effect it all, and trust in God as if they were to effect nothing."

These are not the thoughts which an ordinary boy of seventeen would cherish, wherever he got them from.

His undergraduate career worthily suc-

ceeded his school life at Eton. He began to read for honours in both classics and mathematics, but soon abandoned the mathematics, probably from the superior fascination of what was then called "science" at Oxford, viz., the logic and mental philosophy of Aristotle and Plato. Perhaps it was better so. Mathematics in large quantity might have unfortunately cramped his strong and vivid power of imagination.

He once warned a friend greatly deficient in poetical faculty, and incapable of appreciating high flights of imagination, not to become wholly influenced by the sterner discipline of mathematics, and of logic rather than rhetoric.

Goulburn's poetical faculty could express itself in verse-writing, English, Greek, and Latin, but there underlay such exhibition of it that higher poetry of Lord Bacon, who could see the footsteps of the same God in the quavering of soft music and the shimmer of the moonbeams on the rippling water.

The discipline of Aristotle was sufficient to keep him from poetical extravagance, while

his abomination of starch and his keen sense of the ludicrous would always correct any licence of imagination.

Such a man was indeed a charming companion. Fun and playfulness, often brimming over, were always just below the surface, and yet ever consistent with the gravest earnestness in serious things. No wonder he was the most amusing and witty of Dean Lake's set!

The Master of the college was Dr. Jenkins, afterwards Dean of Wells. His quaint and somewhat grotesque personality was an endless fund of amusement to his juniors, to none more than to Goulburn. The theatrical tendencies of his infancy had developed into a wonderful perception of personal peculiarities and power of mimicry, which did not diminish with advancing age. Always a dangerous power, he kept it well under control of real good-nature and consideration for others. No one was ever offended at it, albeit it was in high degree diverting. There was no atom of disrespect in it, and, from his short sight and apparent want of observation,

it was the more surprising, and sometimes almost startling.

His religious proclivities were at this time decidedly in the Evangelical direction. But after 1835 it was impossible for a thoughtful undergraduate to escape the influence of what was then called the Newmanite or Tractarian movement. One fundamental principle of Newman's he heartily appreciated, viz., hatred of liberalism in Church and State. No one was more firmly attached than he was to the principle of reverence for authority. His authority in religion was the Bible. The Prayer-book was then very little understood, but was gradually grasped by his devout mind and heart. Later in life his appreciation of the daily service, as well as of the collects, Epistles, and Gospels, was a main feature of his personal religion.

One of his chief intimates both then and for some time after was W. G. Ward. Ward would argue about anything, and many a tough combat they had. Ward had a way of disposing of an adversary which was thoroughly amusing to Goulburn. When

Goulburn delivered some crushing blow to a fantastic theory of his friend, "Very well," said Ward, "let us put that aside for a moment, my dear Goulburn, and deal with the rest of the subject." He never returned to the argument thus conveniently put aside!

In Easter term, 1839, Goulburn took his degree, obtaining a first class in classics.

He was then full of the hope of Holy Orders; and of parochial work, as soon as he should be old enough to undertake it.

The Vicar of Brighton seems to have been willing to give him a title. But he was almost simultaneously invited to become a candidate for a Fellowship at Merton College; and with some reluctance, and in deference to the wishes of his father, he consented to postpone the thought of parochial work. In 1840 he was not successful. There was only one vacancy, and another candidate, J. J. Randolph, had overpowering claims of University honours.

In 1841 he obtained the Fellowship which he sought.

The Fellowships were not then given by examination, but it was no longer the family borough which it had once been. It was a recognized principle of election that University distinctions went very far to recommend a candidate, and Dr. Jenkins' rule at Balliol that his undergraduates should be, if not deep scholars, still personally of some power for something, was carried out in a higher degree as a qualification for a Merton Fellowship. Indeed, it may be doubted whether the college has ever stood higher than when Goulburn became a member of it.

The income of the Fellowships was very small, so that some position in the world was almost essential to holding them. A considerable proportion were held by laymen. Lord Elgin and Edward Denison, Bishop of Salisbury, had just left the college: Stuart Wortley, afterwards Solicitor-General; Frederick Calvert, well known at the Bar; James Hope, afterwards Hope Scott; W. K. Hamilton, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury; John Randolph, who gave the best of his keen intellect to the reorganization of the

affairs of the college; and William Adams, the writer of the well-known allegories, and the most diligent of tutors and most faithful of friends, were all Fellows in 1841.

It was the crowning period of the Tractarian movement. Newman was in his prime, and Merton was deeply leavened with Catholic principles. Of course the working of the leaven excited opposition, and anything like religious discussion was never heard in the common room.

It must have been in the long vacation of the same year that he went a tour in Greece in company with his Balliol friend, Arthur Stanley. It was interrupted and shortened by an accident; but, short as it was, it must have been a remarkable companionship. Both of them had the keenest love of the picturesque, and both of them were under singular disadvantage of perception of it. Seldom were two more short-sighted men associated. Among other unusual features of such a trip, in alternate weeks each composed and wrote a sermon, and preached it on the Sunday to the other.

On his return to Merton College Goulburn was free to attain the wish of his heart, to which he had looked forward without wavering almost from infancy. He could now seek Holy Orders. He was ordained to the title of his Fellowship on May 22nd, 1842. But unlike a predecessor, H. E. Manning, he felt that he had duties to perform to the college, and gave himself heartily to its tutorial work for three years. In 1844 the college living of Holywell fell vacant. It was offered to him and accepted. The parish was so near that he continued to reside in the college, and so poorly endowed as to be tenable with a Fellowship.

As incumbent of Holywell he soon became a power in Oxford. He was usually ranked with the Evangelical school, and became very intimate with Golightly, who had appointed himself to the office of scourge of the Tractarians, as Burgon afterwards invested himself with a similar office towards the revisers of the English Bible.

His preaching at Holywell attracted not only his own parishioners, but undergra-

duates from all colleges in the University. The transparent earnestness and brightness of his sermons, as well as their learning and unusual richness of apt illustration, placed him in the front rank of popular preachers in Oxford. Some of his friends rather deplored this, for various reasons: Waldegrave deplored it because such preaching did not come up to the accepted standard of Evangelical style, viz., a mere string of texts; the higher Churchmen deplored it because it gave too much prominence to the relative position of the sermon in the service. The Catholic movement of the time was much influenced by a reaction from the sermon-loving proclivities of the old Evangelical school, a reaction which, perhaps, unduly depreciated sermons altogether, as having robbed liturgical observances of much of their proper honour. But Goulburn rose superior to all this feeling. His pulpit work was by no means his only work, but it was a signal means of grace to many.

The year after—viz., in 1845—he married Julia, eldest daughter of Mr. Cartwright,

of Aynhoe, in Northamptonshire. She was truly the partner of his life, his joys, his sorrows, his anxieties, his consolations, until his death, fifty-two years afterwards.

In February, 1847, much to the astonishment of Goulburn, Bishop Wilberforce, then Bishop of Oxford, invited him to become one of his chaplains.

Goulburn represented to the Bishop his adhesion to the Evangelical school of the day, regarding it as possible that his sentiments might come into collision with the Bishop's own views upon Church matters.

But the Bishop insisted on this being no obstacle. Probably he respected the piety and honesty of Goulburn all the more; probably, too, he had some aims of conciliating the Evangelical clergy of his diocese by selecting one of the most eminent of them as his chaplain. No doubt, too, he retained strong leanings to the Evangelical school in which he had himself been brought up. It was the beginning of a lifelong friendship with the foremost dignitary of the English Church.

But it never advanced to intimacy. Goulburn was no politician, and never had experience of a position where political skill (in the good sense of the word) and the adroit management of different characters, in which Bishop Wilberforce was such an adept, was a necessity. He inwardly shrank from it. It was a part of the same idiosyncrasy which afterwards made him shrink from public life in committees or meetings of any kind. To his mind, simple as that of a child, adroitness was hardly consistent with the childlike simplicity which was his ideal of saintliness.

His connection, however, with the personality of Bishop Wilberforce, and with his immediate staff, could not have been without influence on his subsequent opinions.

Bishop Wilberforce surrounded himself with eminent men. Goulburn was thus thrown with Archbishop Trench, Bishop Woodford of Ely, Archdeacon Clerke, Archdeacon Randall, and others of the same stamp. And this society was probably effective in infusing into his theological

system the Catholic element, which was required to counterbalance the trace of Puritanism in the Evangelical views, to which he had been hitherto almost exclusively attached.

At all events, his theology gradually became moulded on the lines of Bramhall, Andrewes, Hooker, Hammond, Bull, Thorndike, Pearson. The same school of thought predominated in his choice of devotional authors, Bishop Andrewes' *Devotions* being pre-eminently attractive to him. Of other authors, Quesnel's *Reflexions* and St. Francis de Sales' *Love of God* were special favourites, for they best harmonized with his own loving spirit. He was growing to the "large, bold system of religion, the concentration and adjustment of great Anglican authorities," to which J. H. Newman had attained (as he says) in the spring of 1839, and from which he tottered and fell. On such a system it was that Goulburn gradually took his final stand and permanently abode.

RUGBY

In 1849 the head-mastership of Rugby School fell vacant by the preferment of Dr. Tait to the deanery of Carlisle.

Goulburn became a candidate. The only formidable rival was Lake, his friend and contemporary at Balliol. Lake was supported by the whole force of the Arnoldite, or Progressive, party.

The trustees, however, selected Goulburn. They may well have thought that Arnoldism required a check. Liberality in religion amounting to latitudinarianism, liberality in politics certainly approaching Radicalism, were its dominant features.

Under Dr. Arnold the school had never attained to the numbers on its lists in the time of Arnold's predecessor, Dr. Wooll. Moreover, it had gone down in the social scale. It was no longer what it used to

be—the public school of the county families of the Midlands.

A few there were of good family, but they were the exceptions, and too few to keep up the social standard of the school. They were for the most part the scions of Whig families from other parts of England, attracted by Arnold's political views. Moreover, Dr. Tait had been complained of by the clerk to the trustees for insufficiently teaching the Catechism, as required by the school statutes.

The trustees had indeed before them the very best specimen of the Arnold clique. Lake was not only a very able man, but very independent. He sat at no man's feet, and years afterwards he showed his independence, and his abhorrence of religious persecution, by taking the part of the persecuted High Church clergy after the enactment of the notorious "Public Worship Regulation Act."

But the trustees of Rugby could not then know what he was going to become. With the usual solid sense of a body of

English country gentlemen, they felt that the interests of the school would be safer with Goulburn, an Eton man, free from the liberalizing associations of recent Rugby. So on the 18th November, 1849, at the age of thirty-one, Goulburn became head master of Rugby.

His own view of this step he explained on receiving a testimonial from the parishioners of Holywell. With all its difficulties, he said, "the field of usefulness was very large, and he endeavoured to keep fixed on his mind the impression that a man never regrets that which he asks strength to fulfil. He acknowledged the divine goodness in prospering him thus far, and he had vividly present to his mind the gospel history of the holy women going to the sepulchre, and debating as they went how they should move the heavy stone, which on their arrival they found to have been already rolled away. So in his own case, when he first went to Rugby, and experienced the goodwill and kindness of those who had been previously opposed to him,

he felt that the heavy stone which was too much for his powers had been rolled away for him."

No doubt the liberals were disappointed. Their leader, Stanley, was exasperated, and said sharp things, even to Goulburn himself. But no one else acted in this hasty manner, and Stanley's good-nature soon overpowered his ill-temper.

Lake behaved like a friend, and continued in friendly relations with him to the end of their lives.

The Rugby assistant masters received their new chief civilly and kindly. They were a remarkable body, by no means selected because educated at Rugby, or imbued with narrow Rugby associations, or even merely for acquirements in classical knowledge.

Charles, and Thomas, Evans, Bonamy Price, Bradley (since Dean of Westminster), and Highton were indeed far above the usual level of classical scholarship, but Highton was besides one of the foremost electricians of the day; Shairp was known chiefly for his poetical gifts, which afterwards made him

Professor of Poetry at Oxford; Charles Arnold was eminent in knowledge of German literature and art; while Robert Mayor, the mathematical master, afterwards Rector of Frating, was no mere dry mathematician. Indeed, whenever any sudden emergency required the services of a master to do somebody else's work, Mayor was always ready and most willing to undertake it. As Goulburn used laughingly and most thankfully to say of him, "he was like a fireman's horse: even when not at work, he stood in the stable with his harness on."

But all received him loyally. Indeed, it was quite in accordance with the varied composition of the assistant staff that all head masters should not be cast in the same mould. Dean Tait was forward to help him,—as a predecessor only can help a newcomer. One piece of private advice he pressed in particular: "As soon as you have an opportunity, appoint as assistant master a firm personal friend, upon whom you can rely in difficulties to advise and support you."

Goulburn followed this advice as soon as he could, to the infinite advantage at any rate of him whom he invited to share his anxieties. He took up cordially the good features of Arnold's educational policy: its earnestness; its diligence; its repudiation of pretentious pomp; its appeal to the generosity, the good feelings, of the boys.

It was impossible to be his colleague without being his friend; and with him —once a friend, always a friend—for his friendship was always cemented by the most careful, as well as generous, acts of considerate kindness. One could reckon securely on his best attention and best endeavours, in any private emergency.

He won his colleagues, and he won many of the boys who passed through his hands in the upper part of the school, to respect and appreciate him. He won them gradually, for he was a formidable man to boys; his keen appreciation of humour made him so. A prig trembled before him. Nothing is so dreaded by boys as being ridiculed, especially conceited boys of the Arnoldite stamp, who

set up for being "thinkers," poor lads, before knowing enough of the thoughts of other and wiser people; and they felt, rather than experienced, that their head master had the power of exercising his keen humour upon them had he chosen to do so. In fact, it was the last thing he ever did,—or was likely to do. He used to say, in deprecation of laughing at boys' mistakes, "The very last thing a master has to do with boys is to laugh at them." Indeed, it is the cruellest treatment of sensitive boys that can be adopted by a superior.

This power of controlling the exhibition of his sense of humour was but a branch of his general power of self-control. Temper, in the lower sense of the word, he never seemed to show. The ordinary provocations of life he, of course, felt like other people; but anger or irritation his most intimate friends never saw in him; it was sternly kept down, and doubtless was soon stifled. This was one secret of the extraordinary attachment he aroused in his servants. He made indulgent allowance for shortcomings,

treating them as he would be treated himself; and they requited him, not only by diligent, but affectionate, service. Once admitted to a family relation in his household, they remained in it. Nor was this self-control less conspicuous in his duties as head master. Even when necessarily compelled to be severe, the severity was calm and evidently reasonable. There was no sign of any feeling of injury to himself; it was wholly paternal.

And now came in with power his earnest piety and his desire for the religious training of those committed to his care. One of the best of Arnold's reforms had been the assumption by the head master of the office of chaplain, formerly separated from the mastership.

Dr. Goulburn went to Rugby with the reputation of a great preacher and parish priest. He maintained it there. The school chapel was the citadel from which his influence issued in force. His deeply ingrained humility was exactly the antidote required to counteract the self-asserting, anti-reverential spirit which was the bane of the Arnold

system. Indeed, the feature of his Rugby period was collision with liberalism and with the nascent "free thought," which afterwards developed at Oxford under Professor Jowett, and has now nearly overspread the Church of England, under the companies who combined in the publication of *Essays and Reviews*, and later still in that of *Lux Mundi*.

Nothing of this sort stained the pulpit of Rugby School during Dr. Goulburn's head-mastership. His training was mainly practical. He taught them to believe what they were told by the Church, and to practise it; he ever set before the boys the highest aims of righteous life.

He did much to improve the chapel and to endear it to the boys. Especially he designed a series of stained-glass windows to illustrate the childhood of our Lord and our Lord's love for children. One of these windows, which he gave himself, became much decayed, and has since his death been renewed by his surviving pupils and friends. They took the opportunity of

commemorating him and his gift in an inscription beneath the window.*

Another set of windows, including the subject of the Ascension at the west end, he gave to the chapel in commemoration of his mother-in-law, Mrs. Cartwright, who died in the schoolhouse while on a visit to her daughter and son-in-law. He dearly loved her; indeed, he could hardly have loved his own mother more. He had the keenest sense of the nearness of his

* The inscription is as follows:—

HANC · FENESTRAM · IN · HONOREM · DEI · ET · IN · HUJUS
AEDIS · EXORNATIONEM
AB · EDWARDO · MEYRICK · GOULBURN · S · T · P
MAGISTRO · OLIM · DICATAM
POSTEA · VITIATO · COLORE · OBSCURATAM
DISCIPULI · EJUS · NONNULLI · ATQUE · ALUMNI · IN
CHRISTO
TAM · DILECTI · VIRI · MEMORES
DENUO · REDINTEGRANDAM · CURAVERUNT
A · S · MDCCCXCVIII
DEFLETUS · DESIDERATUS
OBIIT · IV · NON · MAI · A · S · MCCCXCVII · ANNOS · NATUS
LXXIX

RUGBEIENSES
VOS · QUOQUE · VELUT · PARVULI · AD · CHRISTUM
VENIENTES
EADEM · MORUM · SIMPLICITATE · EADEM · PIETATE
QUAE · IN · ILLO · NOSTRO · ADEO · EMINEBAT
SCHOLAM · VESTRAM · EXORNATE

wife's family to himself. Her brothers were as his brothers to him, her sisters as his sisters, and as a consequence he was vehemently opposed to the agitation for legalizing marriage with a deceased wife's sister.

In a letter to Canon Constantine Frere of February 7th, 1889, he exclaims, "Oh, how charming is the tie—at least, so I have always found it—of a wife's sister, so truly one's own sister in every way! I have always thought it a strong point against the legalization of marriage with a wife's sister that the interest, tenderness, purity, beauty, of the relationship with sisters-in-law would be destroyed."

It was then the fashion, in the fashionable spirit of Arnoldism, to depreciate Dr. Goulburn's power of teaching. Of course it was not his business to cram individual boys for scholarships. Possibly he was not an exceptionally fine classical scholar. He regarded the knowledge of Latin and Greek as a means to an end, not as an end in itself. But he was a very superior English scholar, and even the boys could appreciate the apt-

ness and magnificence of his translations of magnificent classical authors.

It is remarkable that there was a wave of clever boys in the upper part of the school towards the end of his head-mastership. He left it in a blaze of success. The year 1857, in which he resigned, has been called the *annus mirabilis* of Rugby, on account of the very large proportion of open scholarships which were won by Rugby boys. No doubt this was greatly due to the excellent private tuition they had received. But most head masters would have received, at any rate, a share of the credit.

But his great forte was not in teaching the clever boys. Any good scholar can teach a clever boy. The difficulty is to teach the dull ones, to educate the unpromising ones. Dr. Arnold would get rid of unpromising boys, partly no doubt from fear of their bad influence on others, but partly in order to raise the whole standard of attainment in the school, to make it something like a preserve of clever boys; but Goulburn gravely thought that it was

the province of a public school to educate all sorts of boys. Of course a really bad boy must be got rid of as a dangerous source of infection; but mere dulness he felt bound to do his best with, though there was no hope of his work redounding to the public credit of the school.

He was great at encouraging a dull boy not to despair, not to give it up as hopeless, but to persevere as a religious duty, to do his best, according as God had enabled him. Idleness, of course, he detested; but in "heartening up" a struggling boy he was thoroughly in his element.

His love of children, and of childlikeness in men, his utter unselfish kindliness of nature, all contributed to the success of such efforts. It overflowed from him, leaked out of him, cheered the failing spirit of a depressed boy, stimulated him to renewed efforts, and that on the highest ground: as a duty not only to his parents and teachers, but as a duty to God, to his Redeemer, and to his Sanctifier. He was very fond of that idea of "heartening." In a letter written

in the last year of his life, he says he has "been led to consider whether the word is a genuine English word. I find that it is, and as old as Sir Philip Sidney. I like the word much. To put a young person in heart by a few encouraging words is what —— has done over and over again." He might have said, "It is what I have done over and over again."

In a sermon on charity he recommends "heartening up" even oneself when smarting with failure in good work.

As years went on, he was more and more appreciated by the few, though regarded by the British public as reactionary. The real cause of his external unpopularity was his Churchmanship.

Some of his pupils, after leaving school, came under the influence of Professor Jowett at Oxford. One of them, who afterwards became Lord Bowen, is quoted in Sir H. S. Cunninghame's life of him, as giving expression to the hostility against Dr. Goulburn as a Churchman, then in vogue in the liberal clique.

"Goulburn," he says, "had introduced many of the ritualistic innovations which were then the symbols of Tractarianism." This *ad captandum* reflexion upon his old head master was a misrepresentation. Dr. Goulburn introduced nothing which by any possible perversion of language could be stigmatized as a "ritualistic innovation," and Lord Bowen, who while at the Bar was professionally engaged in the ritual litigation, ought to have known this.

In fact, he was so little of a ritualistic innovator that when he afterwards organized the services at the new church of St. Michael's, Star Street, not only the preacher, but the choir-boys, were habited in black gowns! He had a lifelong sympathy with genuine old English Evangelicalism, untainted with the new theological liberalism imported from Germany. At Rugby, as everywhere else, he was very particular in maintaining solemn decorum in the details of divine service. But the dignified earnestness of his whole demeanour in worship required less support of ritual than

the devotion of most people does; though he would hardly have been brought to admit that their devotion was one whit less deep than his own!

The liberalizing *genius loci* of Arnoldite Rugby was an ever-pressing trial to Goulburn. It was apparently impossible that the school could flourish on distinctive Church principles. The numbers of the school went down; some of the boarding-houses were not full (though his own schoolhouse maintained its numbers). He felt keenly the consequent loss to the assistant masters, blamed himself for it, and on that account began to think of retiring. In the middle of his career he had been offered by Lord Aberdeen, when Bishop Jackson was made Bishop of Lincoln, the rectory of St. James', Westminster, then perhaps the most important church in London. Bishop Wilberforce used afterwards to say that if he had then gone to St. James', he would have surely gone on to the episcopate. Possibly he thus made room for the final rise of Benson, then the youngest of his assistant

masters; and three successive head masters of Rugby might have successively occupied the throne of Canterbury! The world would probably have forgiven his Churchmanship on the score of his disinclination to Ritualism. He was less of a Ritualist than Archbishop Benson, as he was at least his equal in general grandeur and weight of character.

The world might say that he missed his chance in life by his refusal of St. James'; but the world's standard of action was not his. Self-advancement never entered his head, and he did not then think that, much as he was attracted by parochial work, he was justified in abandoning so early the somewhat distasteful labours and trials which he had undertaken at Rugby. Afterwards he thought his useful work was done there; he even thought of asking Bishop Wilberforce to give him a curacy in his diocese.

In 1857 he took the step of resigning his position. Many a person regretted his departure far more than they expected to have done. The truth was, he was inwardly pining to return to the parochial and more

purely spiritual sphere of work, of which he had had a taste as incumbent of Holywell.

Later in his life he expressed doubts whether he had not been mistaken in expecting too much advance in holiness from schoolboys, and even in the early years of his head-mastership he was conscious of disappointment.

One of the most attached and loyal, as well as capable, members of his staff, Canon C. Evans, afterwards head master of Birmingham School, has related how on one occasion he was expressing to Dr. Goulburn his "sense of the prevalent misconception of a schoolmaster's profession, and was saying that, instead of the dull monotony and drudgery so generally associated with it, it appeared to him to be full of intense interest and a daily delight." But Goulburn replied somewhat sadly that he "could not quite share this enthusiasm, and that Evans had much reason for thankfulness in being able to find so much enjoyment in his work. It was not everyone to whom it was so entirely congenial."

Canon Evans goes on, "From the energy, however, and conscientious fidelity with which he threw himself into his Rugby duties, it would not have been easy to discover that they were ever distasteful to him, most certainly not in the latter years of his mastership. I often heard my sixth form pupils, then and afterwards, speak of his inspiring teaching, and of the spirit and interest which he threw into many of his lessons. They keenly appreciated his wit and humour in his translations of Aristophanes and Juvenal; and there can be no doubt that the fine edge of scholarship which distinguished many of his pupils, and the unusually large number of brilliant honours gained at the Universities, were largely due to his admirable teaching. Nor was the improvement confined to the sixth form. The forms throughout the school had been reduced to a manageable size, so that every boy could receive a considerable amount of individual attention. My impression at the time was that the school generally was more efficient during Dr.

Goulburn's two last years than at any previous period of my acquaintance with it, and that he retired a few years perhaps too early for his scholastic reputation, just at the time when the tide of popularity was returning. How often have old Rugbeians said to me, 'I always liked Dr. Goulburn; he was such a perfect gentleman.'"

This is no mean testimony from one whose general knowledge of the public schools of England is perhaps unsurpassed.

But in his lofty expectations of the fruits of holiness in schoolboys there was a sound ingredient of moderation and good sense.

He steadily determined not to use the chapel for the boys' worship except on Sundays. His Eton experience of the profanation of God's house made him dread the lowering operation on the young of over-familiarity with holy associations. "*Ne quid nimis*," he used to reply when it was suggested to use the chapel for the daily prayers of the school. He was content with the decorous and reverent behaviour of Rugby boys in Rugby Chapel in the

Sunday services. One element of this reverence was extreme punctuality. On the first stroke of the hour the door was remorselessly shut, whoever might be near. On one occasion a colonel of artillery, a well-known martinet, who had come to Rugby on account of the illness of a son, was thus shut out from the service, owing to his watch being a few seconds wrong. "Well," he said rather grimly, "I am accustomed to military discipline, but not to tighter discipline than this."

During his administration of Rugby School, in 1850, Goulburn was Bampton Lecturer at Oxford. He chose for his subject "The Resurrection of the Body." He was none too soon in meeting the advancing forces of unbelief in defence of one of the most important outworks of the faith of Christ. For he who believes not the resurrection of the body of Christ's members, is in the straight road to disbelieve the resurrection of Christ, in which case, "his faith is vain; he is yet in his sins."

The following generous testimony to the

merits of his immediate predecessor at Rugby was borne by Archbishop Temple on October 1st, 1898, when the renovated window in the chapel was unveiled :—

"I remember well how deeply I was struck, after I had been here a very short time, with the deep religious impression that he had made upon the whole school, and especially on the sixth form. I do not know that I ever witnessed so striking and so permanent a work as that which he had done; and I learnt to look upon him more and more as one of the salt of the earth, who served the Lord there, and who made all those who were there with him feel his goodness. When he went away there were not a few who loved him well; and since that time not a few have learnt to look back upon the teaching that he gave them with deep gratitude that so true and really heavenly-minded a man should have once taken such a part in influencing their lives."

Rugby was fortunate in the man of whom this could be said, and in the man who could say it.

LONDON

On July 5th, 1857, Mr. Hampden Gurney, the Rector of St. Mary's, Bryanston Square, and patron of Quebec Chapel, offered Dr. Goulburn the incumbency of the chapel. It was then, as Mr. Gurney said, one of the foremost preaching positions in the Church of England. Dr. Goulburn accepted the offer, and removed to London. He was very soon made prebendary of St. Paul's, and chaplain to the Queen.

He remained two years at Quebec Chapel, and in May, 1859, he accepted the neighbouring parish of St. John's, Paddington.

He became in London what he had been in Oxford some ten years before: not only an attractive preacher—for that is common enough—but specially attractive for his genuine spirituality and considerate appreciation of other people's difficulties, now

matured by his experiences at Rugby. Especially he had a singular influence over men of the truest English type, men in responsible stations, and of ripened minds. At all periods of his life he gained the respect of such men, primarily by respecting them himself. In visits which, as quite a young man, he used to pay to the family home of one of his friends, where his friend's father was an English country gentleman of a very perfect order, it was charming to see the mutual esteem which grew up between the older country gentleman and the young Fellow of an Oxford college. Each paid to the other the most cordial deference. They were both excellent in their own provinces, but the provinces were so very different!

And this kind of man, who could but entertain a humble admiration of Dr. Goulburn's sterling sense and goodness, soon found him out in London. Women, of course, admired a very lovable character, his singular sympathy, and the fascination of high powers of imagination which shone out in his sermons, and not less in the

private intercourse which became a large part of his work. But the glory of his ministry above that of ordinary popular London clergy was the male congregation at Quebec Chapel and St. John's.

His unmistakable earnestness and absolute sincerity, his conspicuous absence of self-consciousness, his gift of throwing himself aside, and of directing his energies entirely into the welfare of those he lovingly dealt with, drew to him the sensible, unimpassioned, solid, English mind.

In particular, he preached regularly in the Sunday afternoons, as well as in the mornings. It made all the difference to such men whether they went to church at all in the afternoons. But his preaching decided the question, and the church was thronged.

Amongst other thoughtful men, two typical characters, Vice-Chancellor Kindersley and the munificent Mr. Gibbs, of Bishopsgate Street and Tyntesfield, Devonshire, became his fast friends; and when the latter built and endowed the new church of St. Michael, Star Street, in a part of St. John's parish, he

consulted Dr. Goulburn in all the arrangements with admirable humility and self-effacement, adorning to the glory of God his careful and magnificent liberality.

And now went forward rapidly that long series of religious books which, more than any other part of his life-work for the glory of God, will embalm his memory in the English Church.

Truly they are his best memorial. They do, to an almost unique degree, reflect the author's character: his beautiful simplicity and humility; his subdued, chastened humour; his brilliancy of illustration; his deep, all-pervading reverence; his genuine, sanctified kindliness. People called it a kindly nature. It was not only natural, but supernatural; it was not a mere gift to the natural man, but an ever-growing bounty of the Spirit of God to the spiritual man. There is a peculiar characteristic tone of thought in all his books. No one who had read one could, on reading a second, have any doubt about the authorship. The words of Bishop Butler in the preface to the great sermons are

singularly applicable to the works of Dean Goulburn. In them was conspicuous that "uniformity of thought and design which will always be found in the writings of the same person when he writes with simplicity and in earnest."

In February, 1863, he adopted and took to his own home Augusta Cartwright, the orphan child of his brother-in-law, Stephen Cartwright. She became to him and Mrs. Goulburn as a daughter, filling the place of children of his own, who were not granted him. He was singularly fond of children. In them he sought to enjoy the childlikeness which he believed to be so essential to the Christian character. "Of such is the kingdom of God," were divine words which were ever present in his memory. He loved to play with children, even in their childish games, to devote himself to amuse and please them, even as the Lord had cherished them, taking them in His holy arms. He seemed to refresh himself in their innocent mirth when wearied with the turmoil of the adult world. Possibly he might have gone

near to idolize children of his own, and the idols might have been, in mercy, broken, as "the pitcher" he speaks of on page 108; and he was spared the trial.

A man in his prominent position among the London clergy was naturally invited to a seat on the committees of the great religious societies, and for a short time he was a member of "The Tract Committee" of the S.P.C.K., which really superintends all their purely religious publications. But he never took kindly to committee work. He disliked meetings. The necessary expenditure of time in discussions, often attended with little practical results, was distasteful to him; the occasional bitterness of excited partisans was more than distasteful.

Though an excellent platform speaker, he very rarely took part in the Church Congress. When he became entitled to a seat in Convocation as Dean of Norwich, he shrank from attendance on its deliberations. He felt these things to be out of his line.

NORWICH

On November 2nd, 1866, Lord Derby, then Prime Minister, offered him the deanery of Norwich, which he accepted, and he was installed on December 4th in that year.

The residentiary canons he found there were Professor Adam Sedgwick (the geologist), Archdall Gratwicke, Heaviside, Robinson. All received him cordially and gladly. Throughout the twenty-three years of his tenure of the deanery, they and their successors cordially supported his diligent efforts to restore and develop the fabric and work of the cathedral. Canon Heaviside, in particular, was a most useful coadjutor to him. An admirable man of business, he relieved his dean of much secular work, which would have added greatly to his burdens. Goulburn began at once to widen the sphere of cathedral influence. In a few months we find

entries in the Chapter books of a resolution that the cathedral be heated with hot water, at a cost of £1100, and of an order that the doors of the cathedral be kept open on week-days for admission between the services (no doubt in view of private devotion), and that a part of the buildings be converted into schoolrooms for the choristers, and prizes be given to encourage their learning.

Then follow numerous orders for restoration of various parts of the cathedral, many of them being carried out at the private expense of the Dean. In 1870 a further sum of £200 was ordered to be spent in fitting up the nave for divine service, showing the progress of his efforts to make the cathedral a centre of religious influence in the city. Time after time, as years rolled on, we read of permission given to the Dean to do work at his own expense, and of the thanks of the Chapter being given to him on its accomplishment.

He gave indeed of his own free goodwill, but in so doing he exemplified the

well-known experience that other donors are wont to measure their liberality by the scale of the liberality of those in prominent positions of authority over the work to be done.

Norwich Cathedral is perhaps the purest specimen remaining to us of a Norman cathedral church. Much of it was sadly dilapidated. Dean Goulburn's principal efforts to renew it in its pristine glory are best enumerated in a speech by Canon Robinson on the occasion of receiving, on the part of the Chapter, Dean Goulburn's parting gift. It was a magnificent pulpit for the nave. Another pulpit had been previously erected in the choir by the friends of the retiring Dean as a memorial of their esteem for him; but Dean Goulburn's pulpit was erected in the nave as his "thank-offering to Almighty God for the many very happy and profitable hours he had spent in the cathedral, and as a memorial of his affection and esteem for the cathedral body." It was most suitable as a crowning gift to the cathedral as being connected with the use of

the great church for the edification of the whole people of Norwich by the services held in the nave, inaugurated during his connection with the Chapter, and as being a chief feature of that connection. Canon Robinson drew attention to what Dean Goulburn had done at his own cost, as distinct from the cost of the Chapter, for the fabric and decoration of his cathedral.

"Let me take you," continued Canon Robinson, "in imagination round the cathedral, and point out to you the work that he has done. Look towards the roof of this nave. When I first knew it the roof was covered thickly with yellow wash, which entirely blotted out the ancient colouring that you now see, and more or less concealed the beauty and delicacy of the structure. All the wash was removed by our late dean. It was a work of great mechanical difficulty, and some of you will remember how cradles were swung below the roof in order that it might be carried out. But, beyond the mechanical difficulties, the work, as I have said, was very costly.

I don't wish to enter particularly into figures, but I will say that it cost very little under £1000. Then Dr. Goulburn drew up with great care and labour a very finely illustrated work descriptive of all the bosses upon the roof. This work was a revelation to most persons of the great beauty of those sculptures which, far above us, have for so long looked down upon everyone who enters this cathedral. Pass with me along the aisle, and we come to the Reliquary Chapel, which was also restored at considerable expense by the late Dean.

"From the Reliquary Chapel we pass on to the Jesus Chapel, one of the trefoils which originally finished the apse of this beautiful cathedral. Some of you will remember that the Jesus Chapel, at the time when Dean Goulburn came here, was in a state of great disrepair. He wished to show by the restoration he effected what the chapel had been in its earliest days. The ancient altar stone, with its reliquary, was found embedded in the cathedral. Dean

Goulburn did that work, and an old friend and domestic of his family, a man of strong religious feeling, and for whom he entertained great affection, also contributed towards it. Doubtless it was the idea of the Dean to entirely complete this trefoil. At his own expense, in the garden which lies eastward of the cathedral, he opened the ground, and showed the exact foundation of the ancient Norman Lady Chapel; and I only hope that it may be put into the hearts of some to do the work which is necessary for the completion of the original design. As you pass on round the presbytery, you come to St. Luke's Chapel, which you know is the parish church of St. Mary-in-the-Marsh. At the time I have mentioned, the services, on account of the state of St. Luke's Chapel, were held in the chapel attached to the Bishop's palace, which was built by Bishop Reynolds. This occasioned some inconvenience, and Dean Goulburn, at considerable expense, effected its restoration, and entirely repaired St. Luke's Chapel for divine worship. Then

we come to, perhaps, the largest work in which Dean Goulburn was engaged, and which he undertook on the same terms as the works I have already mentioned: the restoration of the apse of the cathedral in all its circumstantial details. Some will remember how the ancient arches, the remains of which were still there, had been replaced by modern ones of an inferior character. You know in what state the east end of the cathedral now is. Well, the whole of that work of restoration was done by Dean Goulburn. Before he went he had the satisfaction, and we the delight, of witnessing the accomplishment of the great works which he thus designed and so ably carried out. But there were other and smaller works which the Dean did, and to which I may just allude. These consisted of the restoration of the turret and stair in the cloister buildings, and of the vestries over the cloister, repairs to the Erpingham gateway, the choristers' desks, and the vestry which we use at present, besides other matters to which I will not

refer. Two useful works were done by Mrs. Goulburn, which testify that she also had the same regard and affection for us as had her husband. We received the choir organ as a gift at her hands; and the other work, which is known to the ears of all the city—the cathedral clock, with its chimes—was also presented by Mrs. Goulburn, and that, I am quite sure, is a gift for which many feel grateful. Our beautiful bells hang there, affording facilities for harmonious chimes, which have the effect of all minor music, namely, of never wearying, but of always interesting and charming the listener. Speaking generally, I think I may say that the Chapter of the cathedral which he so dearly loved and the city of Norwich have received from Dean Goulburn gifts which represent a very large sum. Now we have remaining, as the final memorial of the friend who has left us, but who has not forgotten us, this pulpit, which will abide here for many a long year to come. It testifies to the importance which he attached to that ordinance which the pulpit repre-

sents, and it recalls something which, I am sure, never occurred to the modest, unaffected mind of him who reared it, but which everyone will recognize. Few preachers in this cathedral have so charmed, instructed, or delighted their hearers as did our late Dean. You will remember his luminosity, the power he had of making clear abstract and difficult things: and you can recall his logical faculty. At times his sermon was simply the exposition of logical truth clearly wrought out; at times it was the outburst of the chastened imagination of a fervent and poetic mind. We know that he was scholarly, although his scholarship was always kept in the background, for he was a man of perfect mind and large ability."

For twenty-three years he settled down steadily to the duties of his position. In a letter to Canon Frere, he says, "I find but scant time for reading when at work here. Perhaps you will say, as many do, 'What can a dean have to do except the going to church?' I fear I must say, 'Little enough

(except on general Chapter weeks) which he *need* do, but a good deal which he *may!*' I have always some (small) literary work in hand. The Bishop supplies me with plenty of preaching" (the Dean only preached as of official right on the great festival days); "my correspondence, among which are usually cases of conscience which cannot be rapidly answered, is rather heavy; and the twice-a-day service, much as I enjoy it, lays a heavy embargo on my time."

The life of Herbert de Losinga, the founder of Norwich Cathedral, occupied much of his time and energies at Norwich. Indeed, he fed his affectionate devotion to the present duties of his station by the glamour of antiquity and the dignity of their local history, which exalted and glorified them. In like manner he had previously gilded his Rugby life by the associations he gathered together in his *Book of Rugby School.* In each case he enjoyed the co-operation of zealous friends. At Rugby he had the help of (among others) the future Archbishop Benson, then "composition

master" and tutor of the schoolhouse; at Norwich his fellow-labourer was the Rev. H. Symonds, the precentor of the cathedral.

The Bishop of Norwich, during the whole time of his tenure of the deanery, was the Hon. John Thomas Pelham. He was a very unimpressionable man. The Dean had the greatest reverence and respect, not only for his office, but for his character and himself. No word of friction ever passed between them.

It must be remembered that the Dean of Norwich was master in the cathedral. The Bishop himself told Bishop Harold Browne, of Winchester, that the usage of the diocese was, that no oath of canonical obedience to the bishops of Norwich was taken by the deans of Norwich, differing herein (as Bishop H. Browne believed) from the usage of all other cathedrals.

But Dean Goulburn was singularly careful not to oppose the wishes of Bishop Pelham. The good Bishop was very regular in his attendance at the daily services; and on one occasion, when the Dean proposed to

introduce *Hymns Ancient and Modern* as the regular hymn-book of the cathedral, and the Bishop expressed some disapprobation of the book, Goulburn immediately dropped the proposal.

For twenty-three years they lived in perfect amity on the north and south sides of the cathedral, and up to the very end of their intercourse the prophecy which Bishop Wilberforce delivered to the Dean on his appointment was fulfilled: "You will never get beyond 'My dear Lord,' 'My dear Mr. Dean.'" "No," said the Dean (in a letter to an old friend after they had occupied for nineteen years the palace and the deanery)—"No, I never shall; and yet I would not risk a change for the whole world. There are nowadays bishops and bishops; and the last thing I desire is, as Archdeacon —— used to say, with a comical jerk of his thumb toward the palace, to have on the north of the cathedral one who would be with our peaceful and, thank God, harmonious community, like a bull in a china shop."

It was a curious conjunction of two opposite temperaments in the most peaceful concord, and the Dean would sometimes deplore in his characteristic manner the contrast which he felt in the pious Bishop's undemonstrative nature. "Oh, that want of effusiveness in the good Bishop's character! It *is* a want, and however much one may esteem a man, it is impossible to love him without a little gush."

Norwich is one of the eight cathedrals of the "new foundation" which had been churches of monasteries, and had bishoprics attached to them from remote ages of the Church in England. On the suppression of these monasteries, Henry VIII. substituted deans and chapters.

On May 20th, 1869, a letter was addressed by the two English archbishops to the deans of all the cathedral churches. The meaning of it was that, recent events having made it probable that an attack on the Established Church was impending, and the cathedrals being assumed to be likely to bear the first brunt of the battle,—as the weakest side of

the Church—the cathedral authorities were invited to set their houses in order to meet the onset.

The Dean of Norwich was led to inquire into the fundamental ideas of the cathedral system, and of his own cathedral in particular, so as to determine the lines upon which the house was to be set in order, if necessary, or, at any rate, kept in order. He enquired, therefore, first, what was the fundamental idea of the conventual establishments, such as the abbey of Norwich had been, so far as it is applicable to the present state of the Church of Christ.

He embodied his ideas in a course of sermons which he preached in his own cathedral in the year 1869, and afterwards published under the title of *The Cathedral System.*

His conception of the fundamental idea of the conventual system was to set forth the honour of Almighty God as an end of human action distinct from, and even superior to, the good of man. This fundamental idea had been transferred from the

monasteries (which sought to carry it out in a different way) to such cathedrals as his own. He followed this out in showing that the objects to be kept in view in all improvements of cathedrals were to maintain a central home in each diocese—

(1) For communion with God in public worship, for the glory of God;

(2) For the cultivation of the highest forms of public worship (as by musical expression), for the glory of God;

(3) For contemplative thought on the things of God in an unhurried, serene atmosphere, for the glory of God;

(4) For quiet, unhurried theological study, for the glory of God.

He distinguished this ideal of the cathedral system from the so-called religious utilitarianism of the day, from the Church work which should have immediate and visible effects upon the masses.

Such effects he respected and pursued, but as a secondary business of a cathedral.

He did much to utilize Norwich Cathedral as a pattern for preaching to large congregations (witness his establishment of the nave services), as well as a pattern of the immediate worship of God, for His honour exclusively; but always as a secondary work in comparison with the primary ideal.

The alarm which had led to the archbishops' letter passed off. Nothing practical came of their appeal to the deans. The ventilation of Dean Goulburn's ideal of a cathedral was perhaps its chief result.

Of course Dean Goulburn's view of the functions of a cathedral was very generally criticized. It elicited opinions widely divergent from one another and from his own. Nothing, for example, can be more divergent than is contained in the following characteristic letter from Dean Stanley on receiving a copy of the book:—

"Many thanks for your interesting (to all deans doubly interesting) little book on cathedrals.

"My own plan of reform is, as you know, very brief.

"Appoint good men of different kinds, and let each man do whatever good he best can.

"I should also add that each cathedral has its own work to do.

"If you add to your list of eminent persons who have been deans, or canons, or minor canons, it would be worth your while, if you have not done so, to refer to Pusey's *Remarks on Cathedrals*, published, I think, in 1834, and curious, not only for the information it gives on that special subject, but because it belongs to the period of his transition from a German Latitudinarian to a 'Puseyite.'"

Certainly Stanley's ideal of the utmost possible diversity (so amusingly illustrated by his sly hit at Pusey's Latitudinarian wild oats) was rather a comic contrast with Goulburn's ideal of almost rigid uniformity!

A very different estimate of the book was formed by Canon Liddon:—

"Especially grateful I am to you for the help and encouragement of some of the

thoughts on the daily office. They have been a real blessing, I trust, to me. . . . You will have strengthened the hands of a great many younger men who wish to make the cathedrals spiritually and ecclesiastically as useful and vigorous as may be, without unduly breaking with traditions which, once parted with, cannot be recovered."

So writes Bishop Westcott, then Canon of Peterborough :—

"It is a great delight to me that you have advocated in such a way a cause which I have deeply at heart. The paper which I wrote myself was really forced from me by a careful study of our own statutes; and the confirmation which the principal conclusions at which I arrived receive from your independent view, obtained from other considerations, assures me that I cannot be wrong in believing that cathedral reform may yet be something very different from what is commonly understood by the term."

About this time began the revivification and reformation of St. Paul's Cathedral

(mainly due to the dauntless energy and unwearied efforts of Canon Gregory, since dean), which has practically shown how the primary idea may be combined with the secondary objects of a cathedral, and both so thoroughly pursued in practice that the cathedrals are no longer the weak points of the Church of England. Without any drastic alterations the old system is proved to be workable by being worked.

In 1872 Dean Stanley's appointment as one of the select preachers of the University of Oxford gave such pain to Dean Goulburn that he determined to resign the similar office he then held.

In his letter to the Vice-Chancellor he said :—

"If the pulpit of the University is to be turned into a vehicle for conveying to our youth a nerveless religion, without the sinew and bone of doctrine, a religion which can hardly be called faith so much as a mere Christianized morality, I, for one, must decline to stand there."

In a private letter to Dean Stanley he informed him of his own resignation, and expressed his hope that the course which he had felt compelled to pursue would not interrupt their friendship.

"Many thanks," replied warm-hearted Stanley, "for your kind letter, kind and cordial as always. You may be assured that the differences of opinion, which we have discussed ever since the days when we travelled together from Geneva to Athens, have never diminished my regard for you, and, I trust, never will."

In another letter of the same year Stanley wrote in a similar strain:—

"The real pleasure to me is to find that your recollection of the dear old familiar days is still so strong, and your generous regard for me still so warm. Not that I doubted it for a moment; but to have this record of it was more than I could have expected, may I say more than I deserved."

Two such lovable and loving men could not quarrel.

In a letter written after Stanley's death to a relation, to whom he was offering a copy of Stanley's Life and Letters, Dean Goulburn said :—

"To me they are intensely interesting from the circumstances of my association with him in early days. Heretic as he was, I yet have a soft part in my heart for him. He was the cleverest little chap in the world, and the most socially agreeable. It grieved me in later life to be constrained to protest against his grievous unsoundness as a theologian, if, indeed, he can be called a theologian at all."

It is pleasant to read in another letter, of October, 1878, the friendly feeling he entertained towards his friend of undergraduate days :—

"Little Stan" (thus he often affectionately spoke of him) "has lately taught me a beautiful lesson in a story which is told of him. It is said that shortly after Lady Augusta's death he was in a railway carriage, into which a little girl was put,

whom he, as an elderly person, was asked to take charge of until at a certain station friends would appear to fetch her. He entered into conversation with the child, and was much pleased with her brightness and intelligence. At a pause in the conversation she said, 'How old are you, sir?' He told her his age—sixty-three—upon which she said, her eyes dilating with wonder and her voice full of compassion, 'Oh, poor old man, then you have seen all your good days?' 'No, dear child,' said the good little Dean; 'I have yet days upon days to come brighter and better far and infinitely happier than any I have yet experienced.' He was, no doubt, looking, not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen, in that spirit of sanguine faith which it is so hard to maintain when the shadows are falling thick and fast upon life. Oh that I had more of it!"

A very painful duty was forced upon Dean Goulburn of preaching in his cathedral on the Sunday after Dean Stanley's death.

It was necessary that the event should be mentioned in the Sunday sermon, especially as Dean Stanley's father had been Bishop of Norwich, and he was himself well known there. The canon-in-residence, whose duty it was to preach in the order of his course, came to the Dean, and, with many pleas and excuses, pressed him to undertake the sermon. The Dean declined, feeling the task to be difficult and delicate and most disagreeable to him, knowing Stanley as well as he did, and feeling towards his theology as he did. The canon came again next morning, and the Bishop, too, expressed a hope that the Dean would undertake it. The Dean thought that, under these circumstances, it was almost a call of duty, and that it would be something like an act of moral cowardice to decline. So he preached, when most men would have coldly told the canon-in-residence to do his own work; and, to use his own words, "being in the pulpit, my conscience really would not allow me to prophesy nothing but smooth things."

The sermon was published, and raised a

whirlwind of hostile and favourable criticism. He received, as he told a friend, "all sorts of letters, from thorns to full-blown roses." According to one correspondent (of course anonymous), he was harsh and heartless; according to good Bishop Alexander (then of Derry, now of Armagh and Primate), nothing could have excelled it; while Dean Burgon, of Chichester, sternly remarked, "I could not have written of him as you do; . . . I hold him to have been an unbeliever in Scripture as Scripture. I could never break bread with him, though two or three times he asked me in Convocation to do so," etc., etc.

Judging from these criticisms, the sermon was fairly balanced, and Dean Goulburn's attitude in the matter was fairly represented by the concluding sentence of a letter in which he gave account of his share in it: "Poor dear little fellow, I was really very fond of him, and cannot bear to hear what he said and did, little as I could concur in it, taken *in malam partem.*"

The theological ground of the two deans

was absolutely different. With Stanley everything was an open question; with Goulburn all the chief truths of religion were closed questions.

In 1880 the peaceful atmosphere of the Close of Norwich was much disturbed by a plan for running a new line of railway through it, involving the destruction of one of its ancient gateways. On November 27th the engineer of the Lynn and Fakenham Railway Company attended a Chapter meeting and explained the proposal. The Dean denounced the scheme in such vigorous terms, declaring his determination to spend his last farthing in opposing it, that the engineer quailed before him. It is related that, at the conclusion of the interview, the Dean showed his power of discrimination between the scheme he detested, and the professional agent whose duty it was to present it, by suddenly rising and asking him to luncheon. The engineer, however, was so disconcerted, that he declined and withdrew.

The Dean followed up the repulse of the

enemy by taking the most active steps in opposition to the Bill for the proposed new railway, which he considered to be absolutely destructive, not only of the peacefulness, but of the fundamental character, of the venerable cathedral precinct.

Accompanied by Canon Heaviside, he sought interviews with a great number of members of Parliament, and wrote to many whom they could not reach personally. The opposition was successful; the cathedral precinct was preserved from the threatened invasion. But the success was very much due, not only to the laborious efforts of the Dean, but to his personal influence, which was far greater than he had any idea of, with all parties in Church and State. Amongst many other notable members of the House of Commons who responded to his appeal for support in his defence of the Close, Mr. Gladstone, then Prime Minister, wrote to him :—

"The best I can do is to assure you that I am much disposed to sympathize with you, and that, if circumstances permit, I will

try to attend any debate that may occur on the Bill, and this on the double ground of the nature of the case, and of the very high respect which I entertain for your personal character."

To appreciate this tribute adequately, it must be remembered that the Dean had persistently opposed Mr. Gladstone on every occasion on which his election for the University of Oxford had been contested.

Sir R. Cross (since created Lord Cross) wrote in answer to a courteous letter of the Dean on the subject :—

"No apology was necessary from a late head master of Rugby, or the author of such delightful books. I have much sympathy with you in your case, and will do what I can to assist Mr. Stanhope" (who had undertaken to move the rejection of the obnoxious Bill).

But of the many letters he received on the occasion possibly few gave him greater pleasure than the following one, from J. Campbell Shairp, Principal of St. Andrews

University. He wrote addressing him as of old :—

"My dear Dr. Goulburn,—It does my heart good to see your handwriting again. You do me wrong if you think I can possibly be lukewarm in your cause, both for your sake, whose gallant defence of your precinct I honour (I saw your brave words), and also as being deeply appreciative of the beauty and the benefit which such sacred seclusions confer on England. We, in this cold northern air, suffer greatly from the lack of them. I have written by this post to Lyon Playfair, urging him as strongly as I can to defend you. I hope he will, though he is very modern and utilitarian ; yet he is not inaccessible to more unmundane considerations."

The impression which this letter made upon the Dean is described by himself in a letter written soon after to Canon Frere :—

"I know Shairp well, and love him. He was one of my assistant masters at Rugby, where I soon got to know the fund of

tenderness, deep reverence, godliness, and poetry which there is in his heart. I read his *Culture and Religion* when it appeared, and his *Memoir of Keble*, which is admirable, and worthy of Keble. Shairp knows how to give those delicate touches which the treatment of such a poet as Keble demands. Never did I canvass with a heartier goodwill than when I did what little I could with my few remaining friends in Oxford to get him appointed to the chair of poetry. In some cases it was rather hard work, Shairp being, though a very devout man, a very devoted Presbyterian. He paid me off the other day in a manner worthy of him. I wrote to Shairp to induce him to get Lyon Playfair (who, being Chairman of Ways and Means, was a great card to play in such a business) to oppose the railway. You should have seen his answer. . . . And when I came to state the case formally before Playfair, as both sides have to do, I thought it was quite clear that somebody had been to him whose opinion weighed with him, he was so much more deferential

to my view of the subject than I thought he would have been."

His brother-deans would naturally be expected to have supported him; but it must have been especially gratifying to receive the following answer from his old college friend Lake, now Dean of Durham:—

"My dear Goulburn,—I shall be in town next week, and will look up Lubbock, Stanley Leighton, and any others who are likely to be of use to you; and if I see him, as I probably shall do, I will try ὁ μέγας" (Gladstone) "himself. Say a word yourself to 'old Tait.' . . .

"Ever yours in old affection,

"W. C. Lake.

"P.S.—Theoretically you are not quite enough of a Ritualist, but I have no doubt you are so practically."

One more letter from a remarkable character of those days, and we may conclude this episode in Goulburn's life as a dean, the only occasion on which he entered into

parliamentary action. Mr. Beresford Hope wrote to congratulate him on the Bill being modified according to his wishes :—

"Most hearty congratulations. When I first saw you I was not hopeful of such good behaviour on the part of the House of Commons. I did not attempt to speak, for I saw we stood well, and the House is rather impatient of such debates."

In 1886, in sympathizing with an old friend and contemporary who had resigned the care of an important London parish, Dean Goulburn wrote of himself :—

"The life of a dean is generally supposed to be sheltered and quiet, but in these latter days I feel the worries of my work are so many as to become, in certain states of health, nearly intolerable ; and I not unfrequently think of following your example. I should, I think, almost certainly do so if either a new bishop or a new canon were to be inflicted upon us ; for we old fogies don't work easily in new grooves, or with new horses in the team. Probably

I am much too thin-skinned. The fact is that the little rubs and worries incidental to all active employments are felt as great grievances when we begin to grow old."

In October, 1888, he had determined upon resignation. He writes to his valued friend, Canon Frere, referring to it as shortly to take place :—

"It will be a great wrench leaving a place where one has formed so many ties; but as the step has been in contemplation for the last two years, and both of us" (himself and his wife) "have made it a subject of earnest prayer that we might be guided aright, I trust it will be for the welfare of all concerned, and that we may have God's presence and blessing with us in our retirement. Many considerations have pointed in that direction: the heavier pressure both of illness and of worries as years multiply; my being out of sympathy with many of those changes which are clamoured for in the cathedral system, and which I see coming in; Mrs. Goulburn's health, which has suffered

latterly, the doctors say, from the pressure put upon her to take up various philanthropic objects, and to do her best for them; and particularly certain negotiations for sales of land, etc., which we have in hand as a Chapter, and which, if adroitly conducted, will, I hope, issue in some improvement of our financial condition, but which I do not feel that I have enough of a business head to conduct adroitly; and then the desire for release from the ties of a regular pursuit, and for leisure to study certain subjects which I cannot find time for at Norwich."

In the same month he wrote to Canon Heaviside:—

"I must say on paper, however imperfectly, how deep is the wrench I feel at having so shortly to tear myself away from *you*, whose friendship, counsel, and affection have been so great a support to me during my stay at Norwich, that I really do not think I could have stood my ground without them. During all those years I do not think

there has been a single jar to our mutual good understanding, and on most points I think (though this agreement of views is not essential to good brotherly feeling) there has been a cordial concurrence of opinion in matters of our own establishment, and, indeed, in other matters of wide and general interest. I am entirely conscious that you have supplied to the good folks of Norwich the good citizenship which I have never even attempted to show to them, and thus have supplied my failures and deficiencies, and have made them much more endurable than they otherwise would have been. My line, alas! has never been affairs, as yours has been conspicuously.

"In saying that I could not have stood my ground without you, I am perfectly sincere, though to many it must appear overstrained. 'You really talk,' it might be said, 'as if you had the responsibilities of an empire upon you, instead of those of a quiet little cathedral in a remote provincial town, which cannot put any great strain on any man.'

"I quite see this, and can only plead that trials are to be estimated not only objectively, but by the susceptibility of the man who has to bear them. 'Mark my words, Edward,' my dear old father used constantly to say to me, 'you will never be happy as long as you live: you are much too sensitive to be happy in a world like this, where everybody must get so many knocks and rubs.'

"I have lived to acknowledge the truth of this, and I acknowledge it to be a moral weakness. I do not justify it; one oughtn't to be thin-skinned; nevertheless it is hard to help it if one is made so. Of course, one might be too much the reverse; but that is no excuse.

"And now, dear old man, having expressed the cordial affection which I feel for you and my earnest hope that so long as we live we may never lose sight of each other, will you think me a hard-hearted brute or a bundle of strange contradictions if I say that my spirits are rising, like the mercury in a weather-glass? So it is; I feel as if the burden was half off my shoulders already.

Of course, it is a most solemn thing to feel that one's little pinnace is sailing out upon a new reach of life, and that reach the last; still there is an interest in new experiences (both Mrs. Goulburn and I are young enough for that still), and I feel a certain buoyancy in planning, as one is obliged to do, for one's future. . . ." (Here are details of plans for taking a house in London.) "Oh, how often I wish for your clear, strong head and sound judgment on many points. . . . You will understand why I have bothered you with all these trumpery private details. It is because I feel that you will not be bothered, but that the true interest which you have not only professed, but so often unmistakably evinced, in us both, will make you glad to know all our plans and proceedings.

"Ever yours affectionately,

"E. M. G.

"I have lived next door to our bishop for twenty-two years in the most perfectly good relations, concurring in many of his views, venerating his goodness, and trying

to imitate his example, but if I was to live next door to him for half a century more, I never could write him such a letter as I have just inflicted on you. It would be a moral impossibility."

Every resignation requires justification when a man is not called away to other work. Few men could justify such a step better than Goulburn did. He had besides the comfortable consideration that there would be no difficulty in finding plenty of men willing to take up the position he was laying down.

A recent letter received by the compiler of this Memoir from the Archbishop of Armagh (the accomplished Dr. Alexander, formerly Bishop of Derry) may fitly sum up the Dean's life at Norwich, exhibiting as it does various sides of his character as it presented itself to a competent and loving eye:

"I did indeed know and love dear Dean Goulburn. I was once his guest at Norwich, where I went to take part in a course of apologetic lectures.

"What struck me most was the sunny brightness and gaiety of his home life, the most riant picture of devotion I have ever seen.

"Then—I think about 1884—he spent some days at Derry. He preached to a most densely packed congregation in our unenlarged cathedral the loveliest sermon upon Psalm xxxii. 8 ('I will guide thee with Mine eye'). The people were fascinated by the gentle holiness of the man and his words.

"My daughter remembers that she and her sister and a cousin had written and performed a little play in his presence. He applauded and laughed most heartily.

"A governess (a German lady) went from us to the Dean's house to educate a niece. She always said that he was the kindest of men, and his life the best commentary upon his favourite subject: *Sanctificate*" (1 Peter iii. 15).

The Primate's observation of the sunny brightness and gaiety of his home life, its riant picture of devotion, is well borne out

by the words of a letter written to an old Norwich friend on Christmas Day, 1895 :—

"This festival is even more than Easter, I think, associated with joy. How far too little, dear ——, do we all of us realize that Christian joy is a *duty*, being enjoined by the precept, 'Rejoice in the Lord always'; and also (which, doubtless, is the reason of its being enjoined) that it is the secret and source of spiritual strength. 'Neither be ye sorry, for the joy of the Lord is your strength.'

"What strong men and women we should be against our spiritual enemies if we lived more habitually in the element of this joy—joy in the Lord, in all that He is to us, and does, and will do, for us!

"The counterpart this of what is called in the natural man *good spirits*."

He was himself joyous in spirit, because he was in peace; and the key of peace is the loving sense of forgiveness; and the key of this is belief in the forgiveness of sins, the hardest to believe of all the things of faith, as Luther truly said.

RETIREMENT

On April 23rd, 1889, the Dean resigned the deanery of Norwich.

The relief from the burden of the secular interests of the cathedral and Chapter was intense. He rejoiced over the fact that his last official act had been to complete the sale of two considerable estates of the Chapter to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. "No more haggling," he exclaims triumphantly, "with discontented farmers, no more distresses for non-payment of rent, but a safe 3 per cent. income, which is at least certain, even if a good deal below what was received from the land in the old palmy days of agriculture!" So much less of secular anxieties he left to his successor. He took up his abode at Brighton, where he had long had a house, and, with one change of residence there, remained till 1893,

when he migrated to Tunbridge Wells, chiefly on account of Mrs. Goulburn's health.

And at last he had full leisure for the literary work in which he delighted. His books were, indeed, his companions, albeit rather exacting in their demand for space. He found that he had to take larger houses than he otherwise wanted, in order to provide shelf room for them.

Even in his busiest days he found time for reading, and for thinking of what he read. In a letter to Mrs. Gibbs he wrote: "I want you to read *The Bible and its Interpreters*, by Dr. Irons, just published. I should like to know what you think of it. He discusses (1) the popular view, to wit, that every man, having ascertained the Bible to be the Word of God from the evidences, etc., is then to make out his religion from the Bible; (2) the Roman view; that the Bible is to be entirely subordinated to the Church and her teaching; (3) the literary view; that criticism is to be applied to the Bible as to any other book, and to decide how much of it is pure revelation, and how much spurious admixture.

"As against all these views he seems to me triumphant. The difficulty is when he comes to No. 4, the Catholic view, that is, the truth. This he makes out to be that the Bible and the Church are co-ordinate authorities, mutually interpreting one another, and that no man can rightly understand the Bible unless he reads it in the light of Christian tradition, or, in other words, of Church teaching. I am luxuriating in books now that I have a little pause from sermon-making," alluding apparently to his duties at St. John's, Paddington.

It would be hard to find a more thoughtful summary of a book or a better example of attentive reading.

His next great work was *The Life of Dean Burgon.* He was very much attached to Burgon. For the sake of his warmth of heart and entire honesty of purpose, he overlooked the impetuous temper and unrestrained language which deterred many men from appreciating Burgon. In a letter to the Rev. Arundell Mildmay of July 4th, 1890, the Dean describes himself as "very

hard at work upon the Life of Burgon, which, though deeply interesting, is also most embarrassing from the pressure put upon me by the publisher not on any account to exceed two volumes, combined with the immense accumulation of interesting correspondence and journals which the family and others have poured out upon me."

"Then he was so many-sided a character —a considerable poet, a very considerable biographer, a great Shakespearean student, a first-rate artist, a great connoisseur of antiques, as well as a most profound and learned textual critic, who took a very decided line of his own, and a line which it was quite necessary (whether you quite agree with him or not) that somebody should take in these sceptical, shallow days."

In his relations with his publisher the good Dean seemed hardly to remember his hero's example of biography, which he held up to other biographers (see p. 1) as a recommendation to brevity. However, Mr. Murray was indulgent, and in due time appeared the two thick volumes which were

all too scant for Goulburn's generous idea of the merits of Burgon. But they must have been a serious labour to a man of his age. His friends may perhaps be pardoned if they feel that the labour was somewhat out of proportion to the singular character upon which it was spent.

As a matter of course, literary labour was not his only occupation as a priest of the Church. Though no longer with a definite and limited cure of souls, he continued to be, what even in his busiest days he had been, the trusted and most useful adviser and comforter of many souls (p. 72). A specimen letter of comfort to parents on the point of losing a very dear daughter, hopelessly ill, who had touchingly expressed her thankfulness for the singularly happy home in which she had been nurtured, eminently displays his power of consolation : " For the dear child, I doubt not, the removal will be gain, when at rest in her Saviour's bosom. Nor must we overlook the negative advantages of the change. Oh, how much heart-wringing pain, in times so evil and so dark as those which are now

imminent, will she be spared! Only think what attractive and specious forms scepticism is now taking, and on the other side superstition, both of them attractive and seductive to young and refined minds.

"Verily 'the righteous is taken away from the evil to come'; and it is implied that we ought to 'consider' this, if we would have true consolation.

"And then to yourselves is there not in the very happiness of the home, which she so touchingly paints with failing breath, a snare from which maybe God seeks to deliver you by sending you this trial?

"Edward Irvine used to talk much of the idolatry of the domestic affections, as one of the subtlest and most powerful drawbacks to the spiritual life. I 'm sure I feel it to be so to the very core of my heart; and there is no prayer which I so much go along with as that Sunday one of Andrewes:—

"'Domine Deus,
Esto Tu mihi Deus,
Extra Te autem nemo sit alius,
Nemo alius, nihil aliud Te cum!'

"How many are there who have *nihil aliud* with God, who are not seduced by the love of the world, of money, or pleasure, who yet find it very hard to keep the heart clear of *aliquis alius*, of some one person or persons who do encroach a little upon that ground in the hidden man of the heart which a jealous God claims all for Himself! Don't you feel this sometimes?

"Oh for the right indulgence, and no more than the right indulgence, of the domestic affections!

"Mr. Cecil somewhere says, 'I am allowed to take up the pitcher to drink and refresh myself. That is the proper use of the pitcher. But when I begin to admire the pitcher and to say, "What a beautiful pitcher this is!" I find that God breaks it to shivers, for He would reign alone in my heart.'

"May He who alone can do so support and comfort you all in this sore trial with His invisible grace, and may heavenly light break in upon your dear one as this world fades away and recedes from her! Who

knows but that, in His inscrutable providence, God may design to bring out of the trial some great spiritual good to one of your other children? How often has one seen it so! 'Your sorrow shall be turned into joy,' is not, 'Your sorrow shall be removed, and joy substituted,' but out of the very material of the sorrow the joy shall be wrought, as it was in the instance primarily alluded to, the death of Christ being essential to His reappearance in a risen and glorified form. How often has it happened that the removal of one seen to be fit for the paradise rest has been the means blessed by God to make another member of the family thoughtful and serious, and so to bring about a future reunion! Your sorrow shall be turned into joy."

Another comfortable thought he suggested in a sermon preached in Norwich Cathedral on the Sunday after the funeral of the wife of one of his canons:—

"It was her brightness of temperament, and not any weakness of Christian faith, which made the fear of death, or rather of

the physical process of dying, all her life long a bondage to her; her nature recoiled from the thought of the process of dying, as sunny natures so commonly do; and it is therefore satisfactory to know that, in God's mercy, the trial which she so much dreaded was spared her, and that she passed out of life in a placid and tranquil sleep."

Indeed, his own death was of this kind, and his own nature was sunny, if ever a man's nature was. It may be that in these words he spoke with more than a common feeling of sympathy with a like brightness of temperament.

Two more letters of sympathy are given in order to exhibit his delicate distinction of treatment of mourners in different circumstances of sorrow.

One is to a young girl who had lost her father:—

"Your father was but slightly known to me, as we seldom met; but, of course, I have heard much of his love for his church, his devout habits, and his great generosity, though not blessed with large means: and

you tell me of his patient and loving acquiescence in an illness which involved great pain and weariness. And all these things are pleasant for us to look back upon now, dear little woman, as evidences of that faith in the Saviour which, as you well know, is the condition of our acceptance and salvation.

"And now let me ask you whether you know the allusion which gives such point to the tenth verse of Psalm xxvii.: 'When my father and my mother forsake me, then the Lord will take me up'; in the margin you have, 'will gather me.' The allusion is supposed to be to the three tribes—Dan, Asher, Naphtali—who marched last in the journeying through the wilderness, and who are called 'the rereward' in Numbers x. 25. The rereward was also called 'the gathering host' (see margin of Joshua vi. 9, and margin of Isaiah lviii. 8), because it was their duty, as coming last, to gather up any sick and feeble persons who had dropped from the caravans, and carry them forward.

"In the allusion to the gathering host's

business of picking up sick folk and carrying them forward, we may give to the words of the psalm a beautiful and consolatory application when our parents are removed from us by death: 'When my father and my mother drop me on their passage to a better world, and leave me in the wilderness of this world, bereaved of the affection and care with which they have hitherto watched over me, then the Lord, the heavenly Father, will be my rereward, or gathering host, and carry me forward in the arms of His wise and loving providence, with all, and more than all, a parent's tenderness.' (See Isa. xlix. 15.) Think of this, and pray over it, till the thought seems to give you some consolation."

He often adopted this method of consolation, diverting the mind of a mourner from the immediate pressure of grief by giving it a spiritual exercise, which required some intellectual exertion upon Holy Scripture, and infused something of intellectual pleasure in spiritual occupation, as well as of spiritual comfort.

He used to point out to such persons, when preparing for the sad parting of the funeral, the bearing of the three sentences with which the Church meets the corpse in the burial service; the first being the words of welcome by the Lord, the second the words of faith in his own resurrection by the departed, the third the words of resignation by the mourners.

In fact, Holy Scripture not only was at his fingers' ends, but habitually sent out its power from his heart. He was very fond of searching for pearls in unlikely places. The lesson of the successful prayer which is attached for all time to the otherwise unnoticed name of Jabez, in the midst of a formal genealogy, in 1 Chronicles iv. 10; the lesson of the ejaculatory prayer of Nehemiah (Neh. ii. 4) darted silently up to heaven in the momentary interval between hearing the sudden question of Artaxerxes, and making the all-important answer—these prizes of minute attention to Scripture were all the more delightful to him for being unexpected treasures.

The other letter selected as a specimen of his sympathy is written under very different circumstances. It is addressed to his former diocesan, Bishop Pelham, in 1894, after they had both resigned their offices at Norwich. Bishop Pelham had lately lost his wife; and his former dean thus addresses him: "I do not like any longer to refrain from saying directly to yourself how much we have daily thought of you and daily prayed for you, under the severest of bereavements, endured while you yourself have been incapacitated by serious illness. I think I can entirely understand the mixed feelings about yourself which must have filled your heart: on the one hand, your earnest desire for 'the rest that remaineth,' 'to depart and to be with Christ, which is far better,' and which would bring with it a joyful reunion with the loved and lost one; on the other hand, the fatherly wish that, for the sake of the children still under your roof, you might be spared yet a little longer, until they have become somewhat more domesticated in their new home. And

I daresay that this feeling makes you grateful for the approaching convalescence which it seems, from the reports, to be our heavenly Father's present purpose to grant you; and I fancy also that a gradual convalescence, if indeed, as we earnestly trust, it is free from bodily pain and discomfort, might be acceptable from the additional opportunities which it would probably give for prayer, and self-communing, and pondering of Holy Scripture, the richness and fulness and consolatoriness of which you so well know by a long experience already.

"At all events, you will feel that if 'the crown' and 'the rest' are a little delayed, it is because there is still some work to be done here, which will make them all the more precious when they do come, the crown brighter, the rest more soothing, the reunion the gladder.

"That God may vouchsafe to you and yours the hidden consolations of His grace according to your need, so that the trial, bitter as it is, may not be 'out of measure, above strength,' to any of you, is, my dear

Bishop, the sincere and daily prayer of one who hopes you will allow him to subscribe himself your affectionate and still loyal and dutiful Dean."

Nor was it only in letters and sermons that he had carried his Master's comforting love to the sorrowful and suffering.

The sick-chamber was his greatest sphere of pastoral work. To draw gently to the deep conviction of sinfulness and pardon, which is the only groundwork of genuine hope, was his special skill; and after the departure of a brother or sister in Christ the house of mourning was to him better than the house of feasting.

The author of this Memoir gratefully recalls a visit,—which more than forty years ago the future Dean snatched from the midst of his engrossing work at Rugby,—in order to minister to a family stricken with the sudden loss of a wife and mother, when the widower was more than usually overwhelmed with the termination of a union of forty-five years.

His presence shed a calmness around him.

He treated the event so completely in its spiritual connection, as a necessary step in the life which begins in baptism and flows on to the everlasting joy in the beatific vision of God, that the mourners could not dwell on any other aspect of the separation they mourned, could not but be composed and resigned.

For he never talked sentimental platitudes. There was an atmosphere of simple reality about him—reality of genuine sympathy; reality of the sense of calmly walking in the line of God's will, obediently, reverently, and willingly.

He "was able to comfort those who were in affliction through the comfort wherewith he was himself comforted of God."

PREACHING

In his retirement he continued to exercise his singular gift of preaching.

Quite down to the end of his life he persevered, not only in preaching, but in taking more and more pains to make profitable the precious minutes during which he was entrusted with the attention of a congregation. Indeed, he probably felt what most veterans in the pulpit do feel: that each successive sermon costs more and more preparation. It was not the language; that seemed to come of itself to him without any labour. It was difficult to tell without looking at him whether he was preaching extempore, or from a manuscript. Nor did he hesitate to preach the substance of his written sermons over and over again; in what manner the following extract from a letter of March, 1896, will explain:—

"I have undertaken perhaps a little too much for a man of seventy-eight. Of courses of sermons I have more than enough; but I cannot avail myself of an old one without a lot of trouble, rearranging, omitting, inserting, reviving in one's own mind the dead interest of the old sermon; for I am deeply persuaded that if a man takes no pains with a pulpit or Bible-class effusion he cannot expect a blessing upon what he says, from the God who alone giveth the increase."

In different churches he preached in very different styles. Always clear, among the educated his sermons were anything but shallow. He avowed himself "an ardent Butlerian."

In a letter from Norwich Deanery of January 1st, 1883, he wrote:—

"I do love a little bit of philosophizing, even of metaphysics, now and then, however sensible that such mental tendencies, if not kept in order, may easily lead astray.

"May we be kept from corrupting the simplicity of Christian truth by speculations

on things above us, and then all will be well. It is certainly wonderful how the gospel furnishes thoughts of deepest interest to the thoughtful, while its testimonies are so simple that they may be comprehended by children and rustics. Ever the deepest streams are the clearest."

He was always wholly grave and earnest in what he considered an awful responsibility.

Like all effective speakers, he introduced an occasional illustration from some of God's works in nature or in providence. Some natural ideas he was very fond of. The decomposition of light in the spectrum, as seen in God's bow in the cloud, was often woven into the embroidery of his tissue of reasoning. But one feature of modern preaching he could not away with, viz., the introduction of undignified and inapt anecdotes, to the exclusion of Scriptural teaching. He gives a comic account of such a style of preaching in a letter as follows :—

"—— was here the other day, and de-

claimed with great glory and magnificence. He ascended the pulpit on Sunday, and having adjusted his pocket-handkerchief as usual under a corner of the cushion, he seemed to pull a plug, and down came upon me and your aunt, who were sitting under him, a shower of anecdotes, which drenched us both: one about Lord —— and the end to which his profligacy brought him; another about a Welsh clergyman, whose conversation with a little girl in his parish led to the foundation of the Bible Society; another about Lord Byron, saying he had only had eleven happy days in the whole of his life; an astounding story about a golden organ in some monastery, which was buried, and heard playing once a year under people's feet, etc. In short, the sermon was nothing but anecdotes, reminding one of S. T. Coleridge's judicious remark about some author whose whole style is made up of conceits. 'A little quince,' says Coleridge, 'in an apple-tart is a very good thing, and gives the tart a flavour; but an apple-tart made of quinces —no! that is quince-tart.' And so we may

say of ——'s discourse. 'No! that is anecdotes, not sermon.'"

He might have added that the quince-tart and the extensive raid on the preserve cupboard was no uncertain indication of a sad dearth of apples in the kitchen stores of the artiste who concocted the sermon. Anecdote may sometimes attract the desultory attention of an audience disappointed in their expectation of hearing something worth hearing about the way of eternal life.

But Goulburn had plenty to say well worth hearing, and would have disdained such attraction, and such misuse of the attention of his audience.

His marvellous memory, so well cultivated in his early youth, stood him in good stead in all his public speaking and preaching. Very little repetition was sufficient to impress on his mind what he heard and read. His power of close and vigorous concentration ensured tenacity.

But it was not only in view of edifying a congregation that he recoiled from the re-

petition of stale forms of spiritual material. He had so high a sense of the duty of providing a fresh offering in approaching his Lord, and was so anxious not to settle upon the lees of old spiritual exercises, that during his retirement, and not in view of any pulpit employment, he habitually devoted some of his time to a weekly preparation of "postils," or notes on Holy Scripture, for his devotional use on the following Sunday. He continued the practice until a few months before his death. No doubt it was failing physical energy which incapacitated him from adding any fresh forms of spiritual treasure to his diversified stores thereof.

PUBLIC CHURCH QUESTIONS

All through his life he was reluctant to take part in public action of any kind. He felt out of his element in it, and he knew what his element was. Especially, while at Norwich, he recoiled from the controversies forced upon the Church as to ritual and discipline, about the time of the passing of the Public Worship Regulation Act. The bishops held entirely aloof. The deans of St. Paul's, York, and Manchester, with Canons Gregory, Liddon, King, and Bright, with, of course, Archdeacon Denison, almost alone of higher dignitaries, did not abandon their colours. It was impossible to wait for official leaders who refused to lead, and Church defence fell mainly into the hands of the English Church Union and the school of "Ritualists." Dean Goulburn disliked the Public Worship Regulation Act as much

as any man could, but he probably felt something of the repugnance to such allies which Dr. Pusey expressed in several letters to the author of this Memoir about 1874.

"The extremes," wrote Dr. Pusey, "have brought the whole army into a defile, and, instead of retreating, insist that the rest should follow them. They, of course, are the exponents of Ritualism to the people of England. The extremes are the exponents of every system. It is self-blinding that they represent that they are persecuted for doctrine. Rather doctrine is persecuted for them. Whenever any would attack Ritualism as the exponent of doctrine, they point to arbitrariness and self-will. They have missed such a glorious opportunity of concentrating the High Church party in a way that might have gone far to turn the tide! However, I, who am no Ritualist, have retired from the battle."

And again, "I am glad you are hopeful. I have no hope except in the untold mercies of God, who has been so good to the English Church. The Ritualists, as a body, are

wanting in humility. They think everyone wrong but themselves, and themselves gifted with inerrancy, though not in the abstract with infallibility. It must be very comfortable to be a Ritualist, to think oneself incapable of a mistake, if it were but true." And again, "I have been very much disappointed in the Ritualists. It needs, indeed, a great grace of God to own themselves to have made a number of mistakes, having been accustomed to think of themselves as so advanced. I see no acknowledgment of any error; I am sick at heart. Your suggestion is a good one. I hope Liddon, Bright, and King will do something."

Such was the feeling which prevented men like Goulburn and himself, both of whom would have gone to the stake for doctrine, from co-operating with the Ritualists in their outward testimony to the antiquity of the Church of England, and its rightful independence of Erastian control in doctrine and discipline. But the cause was righteous, though of secondary importance to one in which doctrine is involved; and in such

causes it is permissible to act in alliance with men of considerable divergence of opinion on other points.

It was all-important in the cause of the spiritual independence of the Church as to doctrine and discipline, upon which the Public Worship Regulation Act was a direct assault, that the Erastian attack should be repelled. The Ritualists had also hold of the sound principle in asserting the testimony of Catholic ritual to antiquity. If their stout defence of ancient ritual was maintained with a sad want of personal diffidence, it was unfortunate and unpleasant; but it need not have weighed so heavily as to endanger the true Catholic party in the Church of England being split up; and men who really entertained very similar sentiments to these two eminent saints of God, had to swallow much that was not pleasant to them. They had to go as far as possible then, as we have now, not to weaken our forces by casting off the extreme wing; and God has certainly brought about the chief result in which all High Churchmen concurred, viz., the general

admission of the fundamental principle, which was then by no means generally admitted, that the Church of England was not a parliamentary creation of the sixteenth century, but a divinely constituted body in living and uninterrupted communion with the Church of the Apostles. It was the evidence of this apostolic communion which was fought for, and which was finally established by the Lincoln judgment.

Pusey and Goulburn left to more sanguine and less gentle spirits the contention against Erastianism in the Church. Polemical methods in general were *primâ facie* repugnant to him. He was something like Dean Church in this respect, so anxious to be fair to an opponent as almost to suspect his own fairness. In a letter to Canon Frere he writes about Professor Drummond's book :—

"He states strongly and most forcibly the Calvinistic side of the truth. But after all there is a Calvinistic side of it as well as an Arminian; and the predisposition of my own mind being to the latter, I always feel

thankful to one who states the other side with force and freshness."

But when it came to a contention for the faith, then neither Pusey nor Goulburn had any hesitation. Both attended the remarkable meeting in St. James's Hall, on January 31st, 1873, presided over by Mr. Hubbard, by which the attack of Archbishop Tait and Dean Stanley on the Athanasian Creed was effectually repelled.

As far as hope was concerned, there was little enough to encourage Churchmen deserted by their bishops.

At a private conference shortly before, in Bishop Wilberforce's house, on November 27th, 1872, Bishop Wilberforce had strongly expressed his opinion that resistance to the Primate in the matter was hopeless. And yet the subsequent meeting had a success that no other meeting of the kind ever had!

Once more, twenty years afterward, Goulburn was drawn out into public action by an attack on the faith. This time the attack was more vital, and the attacking party were far stronger. Moreover, the

attacking party was largely composed of the very Ritualists who had so saddened Dr. Pusey in defending the independence of the Church.

The Pusey House, which was founded at Oxford in memory of Dr. Pusey, had become the focus of the Germanizing treatment of Holy Scripture which is known as "the new criticism."

Goulburn was horrified at it. He who had been in early ministerial life brought to value sacraments as an indispensable vehicle of supernatural grace, and had spent his life in defending them, now saw the Church threatened with the deprivation of the outward vehicle of all revelation of the knowledge of God. If the sacraments of the gospel were ordained by the Lord as indispensable means of conferring His gifts, how far more vital is the canon of Holy Scripture, upon which, with Bishop Pearson and all standard theologians, we absolutely depend as the one authority for all faith in things supernatural.

It was a strange change of front of the

bulk of the Ritualist party. The self-satisfied "inerrancy" which Dr. Pusey had deplored in 1874 was now allied with a similar claim of inerrancy of German critical inventors in challenging, with light-hearted absence of all deference, the established convictions of all preceding scholars and theologians. All the learning of the Hebrews from Moses ben Amram to Moses ben Maimon, all the learning of the Christian Church from St. Peter and St. Paul to Dr. Pusey, was not in their scales as the weight of a hair against their oracles: Kuenen; Wellhausen; Driver.

Coupled with the advance of the democratic spirit in politics through Radicalism to modern Socialism, this spirit of astonishing self-reliance and impatience of restraint on the individual will was the true outcome, the direct growth, of the spectre of liberalism, against which Newman exerted all his energies. It was but a new form of the Puritan impatience of authority in the province of the Sacraments. From the days of Dr. Arnold inventing a new theory

of prophecy, which collided with the book of Daniel, and suggesting therefore, when the collision was pointed out to him, that the book of Daniel must go down before it, this spirit of self-satisfied invention had been growing. It had asserted itself in ritual. When the principal experts of the day in ritual science endeavoured in 1882 to moderate the ignorant defiance of the rubrics, which was then embittering needlessly those who had to be gently taught the principles of the Prayer-book, then the "inerrancy" party took no heed to it. It was enough for each of them to be confident that what he chose was "correct," and to sententiously allege on its behalf "the use of the individual Church" which he administered.

This spirit was of no recent growth. In the rank and file of every great party of movement there will, perhaps, always be objectionable effervescence.

As early as 1839, in an article in the *British Critic*, quoted in the *Apologia*, Newman deplores this as a feature of the Oxford movement even in its early days.

In speaking of the *disciples* of the Oxford movement, he freely acknowledged and lamented that they needed to be kept in order.

"Aberrations there must ever be," he said, "whatever the doctrine is, while the human heart is sensitive, capricious, and wayward. 'A mixed multitude went out of Egypt with the Israelites.'

"There will ever be a number of persons," he continued, "professing the opinions of a movement party, who talk loudly and strangely, do odd or fierce things, display themselves unnecessarily, and disgust other people, persons too young to be wise, too generous to be cautious, too warm to be sober, or too intellectual to be humble."

And in 1864 he goes on: "It was our duty to see that our good should not be evil spoken of; and accordingly two or three of the writers of the *Tracts for the Times* had commenced a series of what they called 'Plain Sermons,' with the avowed purpose of discouraging and correcting whatever was uppish or extreme in our followers."

But the formidable symptom of the new criticism movement was that the "uppish" tone was not confined to the disciples. It was of the essence of the movement; it was as conspicuous in the leaders as in the followers. The leaders published no "Plain Sermons" to discourage and correct it.

Goulburn was horrified at it. The same growth of humility which made him cast off Evangelical independence of sacraments, which made Dr. Pusey cast off German independence of Catholic tradition, which repelled both from self-satisfaction in ritual, made Goulburn revolt from the modern handling of the Word of God.

In 1891 it became evident to him, and to others of like mind, who, like Dr. Pusey, were "sick at heart" with the want of modesty of the new critics, and who realized the extreme danger threatening all men's reliance on the Bible as the treasury of God's revelation of the supernatural, that some effort must be made to stem the tide.

After a small gathering of older men, of

whom Goulburn was one, had met to confer on the subject, it became sadly evident that the faith was not going to be triumphantly vindicated as it had been twenty years before, when the Athanasian Creed was attacked. Neither was it possible to maintain the integrity of the Church party as it had been maintained in the struggles for independence of the State in doctrine and discipline, and for the ritual evidence of catholicity.

It was hopeless to expect sympathy from the great mass of High Churchmen. They were deeply infected with the new criticism.

The English Church Union soon afterwards, as the main representative of the Catholic school in defence of Catholic doctrine, was urged to make some profession of belief in Holy Scripture suited to the emergency, and deliberately declined to do so, on the ground that such a profession would be an imputation on the central body of the new critics, which was mainly gathered about the Pusey House.

Such a plea was so entirely unworthy of the sacred interests involved that it could not be considered as real. Practically the English Church Union ranged themselves on the side of the new critics, or did not consider the verity of Holy Scripture as vital.

It was urged that the new opinions should be met and controverted by learned works taking a long time to elaborate. But even supposing that men who were obviously impenetrable to any arguments of authority would have even read such works when produced, they existed already on the shelves of every student of the authority of the canon of Holy Scripture. Moreover, what of the souls day by day falling into the net of doubt as to the foundation of all revelation?

Finally it was determined to draw up a declaration of the truth of Holy Scripture, to be circulated among those who would be likely to pay any respect to the opinions of the few eminent men of all parties, who expressed their concurrence, and attached

their signatures to it. Accordingly it was drawn up and issued. It was mainly intended as a protest; it was hopeless to expect much more of it. It was not adapted for general signature, for those who actually drew it up, entirely declined to dilute or adapt their convictions to popular opinion. They felt that they could not go down to their graves, as many of them have done in the seven years which have elapsed, in silent acquiescence with a movement involving dishonour to the Person of our divine Lord, and the dignity of His Word.

DECLARATION ON THE TRUTH OF HOLY SCRIPTURE.

"1. It must be evident to thoughtful persons that there are now current certain impressions that Holy Scripture has been discovered not to be worthy of unquestioning belief; and the faith of many Christian people is thereby unsettled.

"2. These impressions are manifestly a dishonour to God, as discrediting His Faithfulness and Truth; and are full of peril to the eternal life of those affected by them, seeing that they under-

mine all faith in the mystery of Christ, and, indeed, in the supernatural itself.

"3. And although such impressions might appear to originate in various learned speculations in Theological and Physical Science, yet they are in great measure derived immediately from the popular literature of the day, and therefore no sustained argument can reach the mass of those affected by them, even if it were true (which it is not) that the tribunal of human reason, to which such argument must be submitted, had jurisdiction and competency to deliver judgment on the authority of the Holy Bible.

"4. It is, moreover, evident that the effects of these speculations survive and accumulate, to the general lowering of the popular estimation of the Holy Bible, though individual speculations may have but a transitory influence, or even be utterly refuted on their own ground.

"5. The synods of the Church have not yet spoken with authority to guide us in matters of such grave importance; but it cannot be right in the sight of God that where His Honour is so directly assailed, and the salvation of His people so seriously hindered, the whole matter should be allowed to drift, and that only isolated voices should be raised here and there in the Church, in defence of the Truth of God's Word.

"6. Under these circumstances, we, the undersigned, messengers, watchmen, and stewards of the Lord, who have received the Holy Ghost to be faithful dispensers of the Word of God, being sorely distressed at these things, and deeply feeling the burden and shame of sitting still, can no longer forbear—

> "(1) To deliver our joint testimony herein before God, and
>
> "(2) To attempt, by the only united action in our power, to settle the minds of those to whom our testimony may seem to be of value, in a good and comfortable reliance on the absolute Truth of the Holy Scriptures.

"7. We therefore solemnly profess and declare our unfeigned belief in all the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as handed down to us by the undivided Church in the original languages. We believe that they are inspired by the Holy Ghost; that they are what they profess to be; that they mean what they say; and that they declare incontrovertibly the actual historical truth in all records, both of past events and of the delivery of predictions to be thereafter fulfilled.

"8. We believe these Scriptures because they have the authority of Divine Revelation, and wholly independently of our own, or of any

human, approval of the probability or possibility of their subject-matter, and wholly independently of our own, or of any human and finite, comprehension thereof.

"9. And we believe that any judgment, either for or against them, formed on the ground of such approval or comprehension, or of the want thereof, is inapplicable to matter of Divine Revelation.

"10. And we believe the Holy Scriptures to have this Divine authority, on the testimony of the Universal Church, the Spouse and Body of Christ, the Witness and Keeper of Holy Writ. So that no opinion of the fact or form of Divine Revelation, grounded on literary criticism of the Scriptures themselves, can be admitted to interfere with the Traditionary Testimony of the Church, when that has been once ascertained and verified by appeal to antiquity.

"11. It is far from our purpose to undervalue or deprecate the employment of the highest powers of the human intellect, when sanctified through prayer, in diligent and reverent searching the Scriptures, and in such studies as help to the knowledge of the same, provided that the object be the meaning of the living Oracles, and not their genuineness or their authenticity. And while we believe that the seal of The Spirit of

Truth is set to all the Canonical Scriptures as the Truth of the Living God, we especially repudiate and abhor all suggestions of fallibility in the Person of our Blessed Lord Jesus Christ in respect of His own use of the Scriptures of the Old Testament.

"12. We earnestly pray that the clergy and laity of the Church of England may never acquiesce in rejecting any portions of the One Volume of God's Revelation, as hard sayings, causing stumbling; but, on the contrary, may hold fast their confidence in the Faithfulness of God, Who will not suffer us to be deceived in humbly believing that to which He hath set His seal; and may wait patiently, knowing only in part, for the time when we shall know even as we are known, and shall be filled unto all the fulness of God."

The declaration is here reproduced at length because it exactly reflects Goulburn's opinions and tone; he was in full concurrence with every word of it. When it was completed he was satisfied that it was a right thing to be done. At any rate, he felt, we had delivered our own souls. He repeatedly quoted the words of our Lord which He spake of the woman who anointed

Him for His burial, "She hath done what she could."

Our business as watchmen of the Lord was to blow the trumpet of alarm, that the people be warned. (Ezek. xxxiii. 5.) We could do no more; we could not force the people to take warning.

Possibly some may have done so whom we know not of, for the trumpet was blown in the name of the Lord; but in general things have gone from bad to worse, in the loss of reverence, and trust in the written Word of God.

Dean Goulburn's chief fellow-labourer in this final work was Archdeacon Denison. It was the first time they had met in personal converse, as it was the last public action of both. It was, indeed, an interesting meeting of two old men, veteran servants of the Lord and of His Church, with very much in common, in Church doctrine, in scholarly refinement, in capacity of deep affection, in tenderness of disposition, in singular fairness towards opponents; and yet they had been equipped for, and called

to, such different lines of service that they had never made one another's acquaintance, and only at the last came together for a final and common effort.

They had a deep respect for one another, and a full appreciation each of the other's superiority! for each probably felt that the other supplied an indispensable, though independent, element of usefulness to the body of which they were members.

To Goulburn Denison had ever been the faithful watchdog of the Church; to Denison Goulburn was the example of quiet piety and literary service.

It was not a little happiness to him, who had long been linked to both by ties of common action and loving friendship, to be now the means of bringing them together to combine their testimony to the honour of God's Holy Word. Day after day, as the work of preparing the declaration progressed, he received loving letters from the aged Archdeacon, with the concluding message, "Let Goulburn see this."

It received some distinguished signatures.

Many who might have been expected to have signed it, declined on the plea of private feeling for those implicated in the "new criticism," or on the score of policy. With us it was not a question of feeling or of policy, but of honour.

THE END

His vindication of the honour of Holy Scripture was the last public act of Dean Goulburn's life. It worthily closed his labours. From his call to Rugby to this culminating effort, he struggled continuously against the self-pleasing current of modern thought, and finally he contended earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints, having known and reverenced the Scriptures from childhood.

His time passed happily in his comparative leisure.

In another letter to a Norwich friend he remarks on Tennyson's sentiment,

> "The tender grace of a day that is gone
> *Will never* come back to me":—

"I confess that my own experience would rather lead me to say 'doth ever' than 'will never.' It is such a pleasure to live in the

past and to review the happy passages of it, freed as they are now, by that well-known trick of the memory, from the worries and disagreeables which accompanied them when the past was the present.

"I often look back at my Norwich days and at my kind friends there, including yourself and your daughters, with great interest and affection. I feel that, while the disagreeables have long melted into thin air, the brightness of those days, and the remembrance of the kindness experienced in them, is an enduring possession."

A few years afterwards the end came. He lived very quietly in his new home at Tunbridge Wells, occasionally coming for a few hours to London; but his ordinary life was occupied chiefly in his study, or in the enjoyment of the daily services, in church, or at home when Mrs. Goulburn was unable to accompany him to the church.

He little thought while devoting himself to her that she would survive him.

God did not send him the ripening process

of a prolonged deathbed. He was riper than perhaps he even hoped that he was.

On Sunday, May 2nd, 1897, he worshipped and communicated in the church which he usually attended. In the evening he did not appear more tired than usual. He felt a little uncomfortable on retiring to rest. While Mrs. Goulburn was preparing some restorative,—he was gone. It would have been an awfully sudden death to most men; to him it was the gentle summons of his Saviour, the Lord of life and death—the summons from this evil age of trial, and training, and struggle, and restlessness,—to the life of rest, and peace, and joy in the Lord.

He was buried at Aynhoe; where his body awaits the resurrection summons in the peace of God's acre.

This Memoir can hardly be concluded better than by the summary of his life which he himself composed and presented to the partner of his life, on their golden wedding day. It is of course published with her self-denying permission.

VERSES

ON

E. M. G.'s GOLDEN WEDDING DAY,

11th December, 1895,

AYNHOE, TUNBRIDGE WELLS.

I.

And fifty years have really fled,
And now are numbered with the dead,
Since I the bridegroom, you the bride,
In Aynhoe Church knelt side by side,
Imploring humbly from on high
God's blessing on the marriage-tie!

II.

Then Oxford! Who the charms shall tell
Of that small house in Holywell,
First of the homes where we did prove
The blessedness of wedded love?
Filled was our little Church with gownsmen,
And college "scouts," and worthy townsmen.
The modest school, our home beside,
A daily interest supplied;
And the small parish to our feet
Lay ready in a single street.

III.

'Twas too much bliss and too much ease!
We should have "settled on our lees"
Had we dwelt there for many a year;
So we were summoned to a sphere,
A quite new sphere, of toil and trial,
Asking more faith and self-denial.

IV.

Rugby, thy many cares and pains
God compensated with great gains;
My stirred and quickened powers of mind,
Always to classic lore inclined;
The learning for the sake of teaching
Ingenuous boys; the Sunday's preaching;
All these were constant sweet reliefs
Of all my troubles, thwartings, griefs.
Yet one great sorrow marked those years,
Whose mem'ry blurs them still with tears,
For who that knew her could but weep
When our dear mother fell asleep?

V.

Then London! What a rest from care
Did both of us experience there,
After school life and its rough days
Relapsing into pastoral ways,
Directer charge of souls, the groove
Which always I did chiefly love;
And above all, the preparation
(Often so blessed) for Confirmation;

And then the orphan child's protection,
New interest and new affection!
How all the blessings did abound
With which when there our cup was crowned!

VI.

Then in the sunset of our years
What store of beauteous tints appears!
In Norwich Close how blessed our life,
Remote from hum of men and strife;
Leisure for study and for prayer
So copiously afforded there:
House basking in the sun's warm fire,
Nestling beneath the Minster's spire,
Spacious enough beneath its roof
To harbour old, tried friends of proof;
The daily chimes for worship rung,
The daily office duly sung,
Matins and vespers all the days
Keeping the heart attuned to praise;
The church of such majestic space,
The matchless cloisters' varied grace;
And last, not least, the wholesome breath
That swept our Mousehold's neighbouring Heath!

VII.

Since our retirement and release
From obligation, what sweet peace
Have we both tasted, wife most dear,
First at old Brighton and then here;

The greatest charm, the highest bliss
Lying in nothing else than this,
That, erst with different tasks assigned,
Not always in our duties joined,
We now are made entirely free
Of one another's company!

VIII.

Reviewing all that lies behind,
What feelings surge up in my mind
Of gratitude to highest Heaven,
For thee, my loving partner, given
In every toil, in every tear,
To help, to sympathize, to cheer!
Our partnership soon death must part;
But be it ours to lay to heart
That they who have with Christ communion,
Must also be in vital union
With one another through the Lord,
By both in common faith adored;
Though one may sleep on Jesus' breast,
The other has not reached that rest.

IX.

How brief will be the time that one
Will have to struggle on alone!
And then shall we united be
In Christ, through Christ, eternally.

LITERARY PUBLICATIONS OF DEAN GOULBURN

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The Book of Rugby School.
The Devotional Study of the Holy Scriptures.
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Thoughts on Personal Religion.
The Idle Word.
A Manual of Confirmation.
The Acts of the Deacons.
Commentary on the Order of Administration of the Lord's Supper.
The Inspiration of the Holy Scripture.
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Address to the Sisters of St. Peter's House, Brompton Square.
Family Prayers in the Liturgical Form.
Farewell Counsels of a Pastor to his Flock.
The Pursuit of Holiness.
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Everlasting Punishment.
The Sculptured Bosses in the Roof of Norwich Cathedral.
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